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OF

The Naval Manuscripts

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AT

MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

EDITED BY

J. R. TANNER, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

VOL. I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION REGISTER OF SHIPS
REGISTER OF SEA OFFICERS

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PREFACE

FOR the purposes of the student of English naval history during Pepys's administration, the most valuable part of the Pepysian papers should be the fourteen volumes of *Admiralty Letters*[1]—the letter-books of the office of the secretary to the admiralty. But as a matter of fact they are of little use to him, owing to the difficulty, in so large a collection, of finding the way to the particular facts required. It is therefore proposed to assign the second and other succeeding volumes of this Descriptive Catalogue of Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library to a Calendar of the *Admiralty Letters*, with a full index of names and subjects. As the conditions of publication make it probable that a considerable time will elapse before the Descriptive Catalogue can be completed, the first part of the present volume has been appropriated to an Introduction, giving some account in general terms of those papers in the Pepysian collection which throw light upon the administrative history of the English navy in the latter half of the seventeenth century. As the *Admiralty Letters* which are to follow are full of allusions to ships and the officers of ships, it has been thought convenient to devote the remainder of the volume to printing in full, for purposes of reference, Pepys's *Register of the Royal Navy*[1] and his *Register of Sea Officers.*[2] The latter document is of special importance to students of the Restoration period, in view of the fact that the accuracy of Charnock's *Biographia Navalis* cannot be relied upon, especially for names and dates.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. Nos. 2849–2862.

The *Register of the Royal Navy* is a thin folio volume with gilt edges, bound in mottled calf, a good deal worn. The front is stamped in gilt with a crested shield imposed upon anchors, and bearing the inscription, SAM. PEPYS CAR. ET JAC. ANGL. REGIB. A SECRETIS ADMIRALIÆ. The back exhibits the arms and crest, with the motto, MENS CUJUSQUE IS EST QUISQUE. The volume contains four blank pages, title-page, page with portrait bookplate,[3] two pages with a table of contents, pages numbered 1–110 by a later hand in pencil, a page with the bookplate showing crossed anchors,[4] and five more blank pages at the end—124 pp. in all. The contents are a fine example of the penmanship of the period. It is possible that this is the list referred to in a letter of 5th August, 1678, sent by Pepys to all the shipwrights, in which he alludes to 'very great disagreement' in all the general lists of dimensions accessible to him, and asks for authentic details from 'each person now surviving that has had the honour of building of any of his Majesty's ships that either now are or have been in being since his Majesty's Restoration,' since he had 'an occasion of making a perfect list as soon as may be for his Majesty's own use.'[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2940. See p. 253, *infra.*
[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2941. See p. 307, *infra.*
[3] See Egerton Castle, *English Book-Plates*, p. 131.
[4] *Ib.* p. 7.

The *Register of Sea Officers* is a similar volume, similarly bound, and also a good deal worn. It contains seven blank pages, page with portrait bookplate, title-page, page with contents, pages numbered 1-6 in red ink figures, perhaps contemporary, and pages numbered 1-128 in pencil by a later hand—144 pp. in all, with the anchor bookplate at the bottom of the last page.

In printing both these Registers the spelling of the original manuscripts has been followed for the names of ships, officers, and stations. Elsewhere in these volumes, in accordance with the usual practice of the Society, the names of places are modernised, and the names of persons follow their signatures. In the *Register of the Royal Navy*, where the use of red ink has any significance it has been represented by italic type.

* * *

The Editor of these volumes desires most gratefully to acknowledge his obligation to the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge, for permitting him to have access to the Pepysian Library; and especially to the ex-Librarian, Mr. A. G. Peskett, and to the present Librarian, Mr. A. S. Ramsey, for the unvarying kindness with which they have allowed him facilities for consulting the manuscripts, often at the expense of their personal convenience. He also desires to thank Professor J. K. Laughton for a number of most valuable notes and suggestions.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, viii. 19.

In addition to these acknowledgments to the living, it is his wish to make some appreciative reference to his unknown predecessor, the compiler of a *Descriptive Catalogue of Letters and Papers of Samuel Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, chiefly relating to naval affairs from* 1660 *to* 1689, *and contained in thirteen of the volumes of his Collection now in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.*[1] Even over the small extent of ground which it professes to cover, his catalogue is neither systematic nor complete, but this eighteenth-century student is clearly entitled to receive the honour everywhere paid to pioneers.

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[1] British Museum MSS., No. 30220.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION[1]

OF the three thousand volumes of which the Pepysian Library consists, some two hundred and fifty are manuscripts, and of these about half are manuscript volumes relating to the navy. In addition to the papers on naval affairs in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, there are a number of Pepys's manuscripts and volumes of papers owned by him in the Rawlinson Collection at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and a considerable part of these may be described as naval.[2] It is true that the presence in these collections of some important official documents of Pepys's own time is to be explained by the predatory habits that prevailed in his day among retiring officials; but a good many of the papers must have been copied at some expense and brought together deliberately in order to serve as material for his projected History of the Navy.

That Pepys himself, quite early in his career, dallied with the notion of becoming an historian appears from an entry in the *Diary*, where he receives with enthusiasm the idea of writing a history of the Dutch War, 'it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius.'[1] That the project of a history of the navy afterwards ripened in his mind we know, not only from the *Diary* itself,[2] but also from Evelyn's reference to it when he wrote of his friend's death on May 26, 1703: 'This day died Mr. Sam. Pepys, a very worthy, industrious, and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy. . . . Besides what he published of an account of the navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers years under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia* as he call'd it; but how far advanced and what will follow of his is left, I suppose, to his sister's son. . .'[3] The 'account of the navy' here referred to—published in 1690 under the title *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England for Ten Years, determined December* 1688—is a mere fragment and has no special literary interest. It is an apology for the last decade of Pepys's administration, compiled on official lines, and written in the official style. There is little about it that is specially characteristic of its author, and we cannot infer from it what the larger History of the Navy would have been like. Pepys's correspondence with Evelyn and Sir William Dugdale[4] suggests, however, that it was conceived upon the broadest lines, and would have included in its scope the antiquities of the navy, and possibly the history of navigation; and this impression is confirmed by the miscellaneous memoranda—many of them notes for the projected History—entered in a manuscript volume in the Pepysian Library entitled *Naval Minutes*.[1] The numerous papers copied into the volumes of *Miscellanies*[2] also cover a good deal of ground.

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[1] This Introduction is based to a certain extent on a series of articles contributed by the editor of this volume to the *English Historical Review* in 1897 and 1899 (xii. 17, 679; xiv. 47, 261). The material there published has been rearranged and amplified, and a great part of the text has been entirely rewritten.

[2] Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, 2nd ed. pp. 236–7.

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[1] 13 June, 1664. 'Thence walked with Mr. Coventry to St. James's, and there spent by his desire the whole morning reading of some old navy books. . . . We did also talk of a history of the navy of England, how fit it were to be writ; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the history of the late Dutch war, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if well done, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it' (Wheatley's edition, iv. 158).

[2] *Diary* (Wheatley's ed.), vii. 282–3; viii. 261, 263.

[3] Evelyn's *Diary* (edition of 1879), iii. 165.

[4] Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, pp. 185–7.

From the point of view of the modern historian, however, the chief interest of the naval manuscripts in the Pepysian Library is to be found in the light which they throw upon the administrative history of the navy during Pepys's own period—the period of the Restoration. For the first thirteen years of the reign of Charles II, when Pepys was only clerk of the acts, the materials are less abundant, although the volume entitled *Naval Precedents*[3] covers the whole ground, and the records relating to some of the proceedings in which Pepys himself played an important part are tolerably complete. But after 1673, when the clerk of the acts became secretary to the admiralty, and had better opportunities of collecting official documents, it is almost possible to write the administrative history of the navy from the Pepysian papers alone. The fourteen volumes of *Admiralty Letters*[4] contain the whole of the correspondence that passed through Pepys's office, and though a large number of the letters, as would naturally be the case, deal only with routine business, there is much matter of interest, and some of considerable importance. The story of the naval reforms of James II can be also told from the Pepysian manuscripts; while the registers of officers, ships, and guns supply references of unimpeachable authority for some points of naval biography and naval equipment.

In the pages that follow, an attempt is made to indicate the bearing of the Pepysian papers upon the following points of naval history during the period 1660–1688: (1) The higher administration of the navy; (2) Finance; (3) Men; (4) Pay; (5) Victuals; (6) Discipline; (7) Ships; (8) Guns.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866.

[2] Pepysian MSS. Nos. 2869–2880. There are twelve of these, but vol. xii. is only a table of contents.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867.

[4] Pepysian MSS. Nos. 2849–2862. These fourteen volumes are numbered ii–xv.

It will be found that the materials available justify the conclusion that the naval administrators of the Restoration period were not so incompetent as has been sometimes suggested, although they had to contend with difficulties of all kinds—for the most part not of their own creation, but due to that want of money which was the root of all evil in the Stuart navy. The Pepysian papers also exhibit in the most favourable light the capacity, industry, and good sense of one of the best officials England ever had—Samuel Pepys himself.

1. *Administration*

It is scarcely a matter for surprise that those historians who were the first to appreciate the great Puritan movement, so long under a cloud, should have yielded to the temptation of over-emphasising the contrast between the vigour and comparative purity of government during the Interregnum, and its nervelessness and corruption under the younger Stuarts. That some such contrast exists it is impossible to deny. The Commonwealth navy was on the whole well managed;[1] and the ordinary reader of Pepys's *Diary* knows that soon after the Restoration the system of the navy broke down, and the wiser heads were disposed to regret in private the administrative successes of the treasonable times.[2] But it is possible to insist rather too much upon the dramatic character of the contrast. Our view is apt to be coloured by the gloomy reflections in the *Diary* on the first ten years of the period, and by the disasters of the second Dutch war. It must be remembered that the disease of the Restoration period had declared itself before the Restoration took place, and towards the end of the Interregnum financial difficulties were increasing, and the navy was overwhelmed with debt.[1] Its condition, when the king came back, is described by Pepys in one of his memoranda as 'deplorable,' 'in comparison of the Dutch,'[2] and although this is an overstatement which may serve to illustrate the way in which the Restoration officials were accustomed to depreciate the Interregnum, the effective naval force of England had no doubt declined. And, unfortunately, whatever reforms might be attempted now would be attempted under great disadvantages, as the lack of funds affected every branch of naval administration.[3] Yet, in spite of all this, the period from the Restoration to the Revolution, in many respects so disgraceful, was a period of naval progress, at any rate in certain directions. And the organisers of the navy after 1660 did something more than appropriate the improvements of the revolutionary times and incorporate them into the permanent system of the country; they also conceived and worked out administrative changes that were entirely their own.

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[1] See Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509–1660, pp. 305–7, for an account of the excellence of the English naval administration at the time of the first Dutch war.

[2] 'To Spring Garden, and there eat and drank a little, and then to walk up and down the garden, reflecting upon the bad management of things now, compared with what it was in the late rebellious times,

The history of naval administration between 1660 and 1688 falls naturally into four periods:—(1) 1660–1673, from the appointment of the Duke of York to the office of lord high admiral, till his retirement after the passing of

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when men, some for fear, and some for religion, minded their business, which none now do, by being void of both' (*Diary*, vi. 349, 3 June, 1667). 'The business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest' (*ib.* viii. 98, 4 Sept. 1668).

[1] Oppenheim, pp. 319–20, 350–1, 368–70.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 90–1.

[3] The evidence of this is to be found everywhere, especially in the State Papers and the *Diary*. See also *Commons Journals*, viii. 91, 109, 182, and 298.

the Test Act; (2) 1673–1679, the first secretaryship of Samuel Pepys; (3) 1679–1684, the period of administrative disorder that followed his resignation; (4) 1684–1688, from the return of the Duke of York to the Revolution, this period being also that of Pepys's second secretaryship.

1660–1673. At the date of the king's restoration the administrative direction of the navy was in the hands of an admiralty commission of twenty-eight, appointed by the Rump Parliament in December 1659,[1] with a navy board of seven experts under it. But, as early as 16 May,[2] before he landed at Dover, the king named his brother James lord high admiral of England;[3] although by Orders in Council, dated 31 May and 2 June, 1660, the existing commissions were temporarily continued in office.[4] On 27 June, however, a committee was appointed, consisting of the duke, Monck, the Earl of Northumberland, Mountagu, Ashley Cooper, Colonel Charles Howard, and the secretaries Nicholas and Morice, to consider certain proposals made by the duke for the future regulation of the navy, and to report thereon to the king.[5] The result of their report was that on 2 July it was ordered by the king in council that the existing commissions of the admiralty and navy should be dissolved, and the ancient form for the 'well-governing' of the navy by four 'principal officers' should be restored.[1] The new treasurer was to be Sir George Carteret, the comptroller Sir Robert Slyngesbie, the surveyor Sir William Batten, and Samuel Pepys, esquire, clerk of the acts. With these 'principal officers,' three 'commissioners' were associated—John, Lord Berkeley, Sir William Penn, and Peter Pett, esquire. These 'principal officers and commissioners of the navy,' usually known as the 'navy board,' held their first meeting on 3 July, as we learn from the *Diary*, to draft orders for the council 'to supersede the old ones, and empower' themselves 'to act;'[2] and on the following day the salary attached to each appointment was fixed by the council.[3]

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[1] A list of lord high admirals and admiralty commissions from August 1628 to March 1689 is to be found in Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 211–26.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxix. 183. The duke's commission is dated 29 Jan. 1660–1. A copy of it, after the Latin form, is to be found in *Miscellanies*, ii. 389.

[3] *Cf.* Monson: 'The way to settle things is to appoint an Admiral, young, heroical, and of a great Blood: his experience in sea affairs is not so much to be requir'd at first, as his sincerity, honour, and wisdom; for his daily practice in his Office, with conference of able and experienced men, will quickly instruct him' (Churchill's *Voyages*—edition of 1704—iii. 371).

[4] Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 241.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 242. The Duke of York's proposals, which were the work of Penn, are printed in Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 589.

In determining the remuneration of the officials of the navy, the council followed the precedents of the Commonwealth, and offered a stipend instead of the traditional fee with allowances. In Monson's time the treasurer of the navy had been entitled to a 'fee out of the exchequer' of 100 marks, together with various allowances for diet, clerks, and boat-hire, which brought his total salary up to 220*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*[4] In 1634 this was raised to 645*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and from 1630 he was allowed a poundage of threepence on all payments made by him, including wages, instead of only on those to merchants supplying stores, as hitherto; he also had a house at Deptford and other advantages.[5] The result of the system of poundage was that in time of war, at any rate, his profits were very large, and Hollond, in his *Second Discourse*, speaks of the place as a 'warm thing.'[1] In 1651, however, the salary of the treasurer was commuted for 1,000*l.* a year in lieu of all former fees and perquisites; although this was soon increased, and was finally fixed for the Commonwealth period in 1655 at 1,500*l.* a year, with 100*l.* commission on every 100,000*l.* issued above 700,000*l.*[2] By the order of 4 July, 1660, Carteret's stipend was now fixed at 2,000*l.* a year.[3] The other officers were similarly treated. In Monson's time the allowances of the comptroller amounted to 155*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; those of the surveyor to 146*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and those of the clerk of the acts to 102*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*[4] The salaries paid to the commissioners of the navy just before the Restoration had been only 250*l.*,[5] but the admiralty commissioners had had 400*l.*[6] The restored 'principal officers' were now paid on a rather more liberal scale. The comptroller was to have 500*l.* a year, the surveyor 490*l.*, and the clerk of the acts 350*l.* Lord Berkeley and Sir William Penn as commissioners were to have 500*l.* each, and Mr. Pett 350*l.*[1] Pett occupied a somewhat inferior position to his colleagues, as he was required to reside at Chatham and take charge of the dockyard there—at this time the most important of the royal yards.[2] The two other commissioners had no special duties assigned to them, and this was afterwards spoken of as one of the advantages of the system now established, since they were 'not limited to any, and yet furnished with powers of acting and controlling every part, both of the particular and common duties of the office,' and they had 'full opportunity given them' of 'understanding the defects of the whole, and applying their assistance where it may be most useful.'[3]

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[1] Penn, ii. 243–5. There is a copy of this order in Pepysian MSS. No. 2611, Sir William Penn's *Collections*, p. 113, dated in error 4 July, and another in *Naval Precedents*, p. 350, with the same mistake repeated; but references in No. 2611, p. 117, make it clear that the right date is 2 July and not 4 July.

[2] Wheatley's edition, i. 191 and 193.

[3] Penn, ii. 246; see also Pepysian MSS. No. 2611, p. 117. The patents of Carteret, Slyngesbie, Batten, and Pett are dated 4 July, 1660, that of Pepys 13 July, and those of Berkeley and Penn 18 August (Duckett, *Naval Commissioners*, p. 28).

[4] Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 319.

[5] See Oppenheim, p. 280.

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[1] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (Navy Records Society, vol. vii.), p. 309.

[2] Oppenheim, pp. 351–2; Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, v. 483.

[3] By a royal declaration of 11 August, 1662, the new method was abandoned, and Carteret was authorised to receive the customary fees and allowances, the order of 4 July, 1660, notwithstanding (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 457), and when Anglesey was appointed treasurer of the navy in 1667 he was paid a salary of 100*l.* a year and 3*d.* poundage (*ib.* 1667, p. 235). But this reversion to the older system was only temporary. In the Duke of York's revised instructions to the treasurer, dated 25 Sept. 1671, it is expressly provided 'that the treasurer of the navy shall for the future be paid by salary, and not by poundage' (Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 523). From this time the newer method seems to have been finally adopted, though with a further increase of salary. Thus, in 1668 Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Thomas Littleton were appointed joint treasurers of the navy at 1,250*l.* a year each, with 800*l.* to be distributed to their cashier, paymaster, and inferior officers (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668–9, p. 403). By an Order in Council of 11 July, 1671, it was decided that there should be only one treasurer (*ib.* 1671, p. 379), and on 22 Sept. the office was vested in Osborne alone, with a salary of 2,000*l.* in lieu of fees (*ib.* p. 498), and on 25 Oct. a warrant was passed allowing him also 800*l.* for his staff (*ib.* p. 537). In 1673 Edward Seymour was appointed at a salary of 2,000*l.* (*ib.* 1673, p. 380), but on 17 July, 1674, he received a warrant for an additional privy seal for 1,000*l.*, to begin from midsummer 1673 (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 271); and when he was succeeded by Lord Falkland in 1681 the salary was fixed at 3,000*l.* (*ib.* xi. 271).

[4] In 1635 the net gains of these officials had been valued at something less—138*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, 128*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 92*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* respectively (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1635, p. 561).

[5] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, v. 483.

[6] Oppenheim, p. 347.

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[1] It is worth noticing that on 13 Feb. 1664-5, a reform of the same kind was effected in the office of the ordnance. The sale of places was forbidden, and the fee of the master of the ordnance was raised from 200 marks to 1,000*l.* a year. The lieutenant of ordnance had hitherto received 384*l.*, and had also held the lucrative post of paymaster. It was now provided that upon the death of the present holder of the office the salary of the lieutenant of ordnance should be raised to 800*l.* a year, and that a separate paymaster should be appointed, at a salary of 400*l.*, who should be forbidden, on pain of loss of place, to receive any gratuities from merchants or others (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664-5, p. 200); and these changes came into effect in 1670, on the death of Colonel William Legge, lieutenant of ordnance (*ib.* 1670, pp. 486, 567).

[2] 'The master-yard of all the rest' (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 358; see also Oppenheim, pp. 363-4). The assignment of a resident commissioner to Chatham was no novelty. Monson refers to it as a practice of the commission of 1618 to have 'always one of themselves or an able assistant dwelling at Chatham' (Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 322), and during the Dutch war under the Commonwealth a commissioner had been stationed at each of the principal yards (Oppenheim, p. 348). The commissioner in charge of Chatham was Peter Pett, and thus in 1660 he was only continued in his old office. According to the lists contributed by Colonel Pasley to Mr. Wheatley's volume upon Pepys, the first regular resident commissioner at Chatham was Phineas Pett, appointed 1630. He was succeeded by Peter Pett, probably in 1647 (Wheatley, *Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in*, pp. 284-5).

[3] 'Report of the Navy Commissioners to the Duke of York,' 17 April, 1669; printed in Charnock, *Marine Architecture*, ii. 406.

It will be observed that upon the navy board of the Restoration experience was largely represented. Of the seven officials of which it was composed, four had been used to the sea, one had an extensive military experience—no bad qualification for membership of the board at a time when the line between the two services was not distinctly drawn—and only one was altogether without knowledge of naval affairs. This exception, curiously enough, was Samuel Pepys himself, for his brief tenure of office as secretary to the generals of the fleet in 1660[1] could scarcely have given him any special knowledge of naval affairs. The strongest man on the new board was the treasurer, the obstinate Sir George Carteret, who, entering the service as a boy, had risen to high command in the navy, and had already served as comptroller in Charles I's reign. 'Besides his other parts of honesty and discretion,' says Clarendon, he was 'undoubtedly as good, if not the best, seaman of England,' and Sir William Coventry, his consistent opponent, described him to Pepys as 'a man that do take the most pains and gives himself the most to do business of any about the Court.'[2] Pepys also wrote of him, not long before his fall: 'I do take' him 'for a most honest man.'[3] Sir Robert Slyngesbie, the comptroller, was himself the son of a comptroller, and had served as a sea-captain as early as 1633,[4] having been 'from his infancy bred up and employed in the navy.'[5] Sir William Batten was only returning to an office that he had already held, for he had been surveyor of the navy from 1638 to 1642,[6] and afterwards a naval commissioner,[7] as well as an active naval commander. Of the extra commissioners, Lord Berkeley was a distinguished soldier who had won great honour at Stratton, and had served under

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[1] *Diary*, i. 81, 86, 89, 98.
[2] *D. N. B.* ix. 208.
[3] *Diary*, vi. 270.
[4] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. lxxii.
[5] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, i. 153.
[6] *D. N. B.* iii. 418; Wheatley, p. 277.
[7] Oppenheim, p. 288.

Turenne from 1652 to 1655;[1] while Sir William Penn was the son of a seaman, and had been a seaman all his life. He had been rear-admiral and then vice-admiral in the time of the Long Parliament; he had served as vice-admiral under Blake, had been appointed one of the generals at sea in 1653, had commanded the expedition that seized Jamaica,[2] and had already been a member of two admiralty commissions in the Interregnum.[3] Peter Pett came of a family of shipbuilders,[4] and an earlier Pett had been master-shipwright at Deptford in the reign of Edward VI.[5] Besides, he had already served as resident commissioner at Chatham for something like thirteen years.[6] Thus the navy board, as it stood at the beginning of the reign, was a strong body on which the experts were overwhelmingly represented. Sir Walter Ralegh had remarked in his day that 'it were to be wished that the chief officers under the lord admiral . . . should be men of the best experience in sea-service,' and had complained that sometimes 'by the special favour of princes' or 'the mediation of great men for the preferment of their servants,' or 'now and then by virtue of the purse,' persons 'very raw and ignorant' are 'very unworthily and unfitly nominated to those places.'[7] But such criticisms as these applied no longer, and the Restoration could claim to have appropriated the best traditions of the Commonwealth, and to have established a naval administration which, if it failed, would not fail for lack of knowledge.

An examination of the subsequent history of the navy board during the period 1660–1673 shows that the idea of administration by experts was not again lost sight of;

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[1] *D. N. B.* iv. 361–2.

[2] *Ib.* xliv. 308.

[3] The commissions of 3 Dec. 1653, and 1 Dec. 1659 (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 216, 218). Penn and four others were added to the commission of 1659 by an order of 24 March, 1659–60 (*ib.* xi. 219).

[4] *D. N. B.* xlv. 103.

[5] *Ib.* 102.

[6] Wheatley, p. 285.

[7] 'Observations on the Navy and Sea Service' (*Works*—8vo. Oxford, 1829—viii. 336).

but it also suggests that changes in the composition of the board occurred with undesirable frequency, especially in the case of the principal officers. The office of treasurer of the navy eventually fell to the men of accounts, for Sir George Carteret was succeeded in 1667[1] by the Earl of Anglesey, a 'laborious, skilful, cautious, moderate official,' who had had seven years' experience of finance as vice-treasurer and receiver-general for Ireland;[2] and when Anglesey was suspended in 1668,[3] the office passed at first to Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Thomas Littleton acting as joint treasurers, and finally, in 1671,[4] to Osborne alone, who held it until 1673. But, with these exceptions, the posts vacated by naval experts were offered to naval experts again. When Sir Robert Slyngesbie, the comptroller, died in 1661,[5] he was succeeded by Sir John Mennes, who had first served under Sir W. Monson in the Narrow Seas, and had had a wide experience of the navy. He does not appear to have been very efficient in his office, but he held it until his death in 1671.[6] His successor was Sir Thomas Allin, who had originally been a shipowner at Lowestoft, but had served under Prince Rupert, and had acquired a reputation in the second Dutch war.[7] When

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[1] The warrant to the attorney-general to prepare Carteret's surrender and the grant to the Earl of Anglesey is dated 26 June, 1667 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 235), and the appointment itself is dated 2 July (*ib.* 1671, p. 498). Anglesey's salary appears to have been paid from 1 Jan. 1666–7 (Duckett, *Naval Commissioners*, p. 29).

[2] *D. N. B.* ii. 2–3.

[3] 2 Nov. 1668 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 498).

[4] The order to the attorney-general to prepare a warrant is dated 22 Sept. 1671 (*ib.*), and the appointment was made on 3 Oct. (*ib.* p. 537); the patent is dated 14 Oct. (Duckett, p. 16).

[5] 26 Oct. 1661 (*Diary*, ii. 126).

[6] 18 Feb. 1670–1 (*D. N. B.* xxxvii. 255). Mennes was appointed 30 Oct. 1661 (*ib.* p. 254), and his patent is dated 28 Nov. (Duckett, p. 28). Pepys thought him 'most excellent pleasant company' (*Diary*, v. 186), and 'a very good, harmless, honest gentleman' (*ib.* v. 407), but he is always attacking his incapacity (*ib.* iii. 86, 147, 294; vi. 8; viii. 194).

[7] *D. N. B.* i. 332. His patent is dated 15 April, 1671 (Duckett, p. 30), but the post had been promised him before his predecessor's death (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 102).

Sir William Batten died in 1667,[1] Colonel Thomas Middleton, who had been resident commissioner at Portsmouth since 1664, was appointed to succeed him as surveyor of the navy;[2] but he was transferred to Chatham in 1672, and John Tippetts, who had also been resident commissioner at Portsmouth, was appointed in his room.[3] Thus during thirteen years of naval history there were four treasurerships of the navy, and the offices of comptroller and surveyor were both held by three different persons. The only one of the 'principal officers' whose experience was continuous throughout the period was Samuel Pepys, the clerk of the acts.

The extra commissionerships did not all go to naval experts, but men of ability were selected for them and sometimes men of distinction. In 1662 another extra commissioner was appointed, and the choice fell on William Coventry,[4] a civilian; but Coventry had already had two years' experience of naval administration as secretary to the lord high admiral, and his great ability soon made him one of the most valuable members of the navy board.[5] In 1664 an extra commissionership was conferred on Lord Brouncker,[6] a literary man, an intimate friend of Evelyn's, and first president of the Royal Society, who took something more than an amateur's interest in shipbuilding, and in 1662 built a yacht for the king.[1] At the beginning of 1665 the extra commissionership which had been held by Lord Berkeley passed to Sir Thomas Harvey,[2] the only nonentity who held office on the navy board during this period.[3] At the close of the second Dutch war, when a policy of retrenchment was pursued in the navy,[4] the appointments of two of the extra commissioners were allowed to lapse. When Coventry resigned, early in 1667,[5] his place was not filled, and after March 1668, we hear nothing more of Sir Thomas Harvey;[6] but when the third Dutch war began, one of the extra commissionerships was revived for Edward Seymour, who was appointed in May 1672.[7] In the February following he also became speaker of the House of Commons.

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[1] 5 Oct. 1667 (*D. N. B.* iii. 420).

[2] His patent is dated 25 Nov. 1667 (Duckett, p. 28). Pepys joined with Penn in recommending him for the office as 'a most honest and understanding man, and fit for that place' (*Diary*, vii. 134).

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 551. The patent is dated 5 Sept. 1672 (Duckett, p. 30).

[4] Coventry was appointed 12 May, 1662, at a salary of 500*l.* a year (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661-2, p. 368).

[5] Burnet described him in 1665 as 'a man of great actions and eminent virtues,' though he made money by the sale of offices, like every one else. Temple credits him with the highest political ability, Evelyn calls him 'a wise and witty gentleman,' and the *Diary* shows how warmly Pepys was attached to him (*D. N. B.* xii. 363; Penn, ii. 238; *Diary*, *passim*).

[6] The warrant authorising the Duke of York to appoint him is dated 12 Nov. 1664 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664-5, p. 63), and the patent is dated 7 Dec. (Duckett, p. 28).

The resident commissionerships at the dockyards, as would naturally be the case, were reserved entirely for men of naval experience. The restored government had at first been content with a single resident commissioner, but it soon fell back on the precedents of the Interregnum, when during the war with Holland there had been a commissioner at Portsmouth and Harwich as well as at

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[1] *D. N. B.* vi. 469.

[2] Lord Berkeley was paid to 25 Dec. 1664, and Harvey's patent was dated 30 Jan. 1664–5 (Duckett, p. 28).

[3] According to Pepys, he bought his place of his predecessor (*Diary*, vi. 392). The references to him in the State Papers are very few in number, and Pepys calls him 'an idle fellow' (*ib.* vii. 197).

[4] See p. 103, *infra.*

[5] Pepys refers to his resignation as early as 8 Jan. 1666–7 (*Diary*, vi. 126), but his salary was paid to 25 March, 1667 (Duckett, p. 29).

[6] He was paid to 25 March, 1668 (Duckett, p. 29). On 12 Feb. he had received a privy seal for 2,000*l.*, of the King's free gift (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. 227).

[7] The warrant to the clerk of the signet to prepare a commission is dated 29 May, 1672 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 91). The patent is dated 30 Aug. (Duckett, p. 30). According to Sir George Duckett's list, Sir John Harman and Sir John Werden were also paid as extra commissioners of the navy, the former from 29 Sept. 1672 to 29 Sept. 1674, and the latter from 26 Dec. 1672 to 29 Sept. 1680; but there is no record of the former appointment in the State Papers, and the latter was probably not made until June 1673 (see note 7 on p. 40, *infra*).

Chatham.[1] In 1664 Thomas Middleton was appointed to reside at Portsmouth, on the same footing as Peter Pett at Chatham, with a salary of 350*l.* a year;[2] and Captain John Taylor was appointed to Harwich on the same terms.[3] When Middleton became surveyor, he was succeeded at Portsmouth by John Tippetts, the master shipwright there.[4] The closing of Harwich Yard, early in 1668,[5] deprived Taylor of his employment as resident commissioner; his commission was revoked 7 February, 1667–8, at the same time as that of Peter Pett,[6] the scapegoat of the Dutch war.[7] Taylor died in 1670.[8] In 1669 the resident commissionership of Chatham, which had been vacant since Pett's removal, was filled by the appointment of Captain John Cox.[9] He had been master of the Duke of York's flagship, the Royal Charles, in the victory of 3 June, 1665, and had been captain of the Sovereign in 1666; he had also had some official experience as master attendant at Deptford in 1667.[1] On 27 April, 1672, he was knighted, and on 28 May he was killed at the battle of Sole Bay.[2] He was succeeded by Thomas Middleton, the surveyor of the navy;[3] but Middleton died in December of the same year,[4] and was succeeded by Rear-Admiral Richard Beach.[5] The post of commissioner at Portsmouth, vacant by the promotion of Tippetts, was conferred upon the famous shipbuilder, Anthony Deane.[6]

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[1] Oppenheim, p. 348.

[2] The appointment must have been made early in November 1664 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664-5, pp. 76, 98), but the date of the patent is 3 Jan. 1664-5 (Duckett, p. 28). William Coventry wrote to Mr. Secretary Bennet, soon after Middleton's arrival at Portsmouth to take up his duties, that he thought he would do good service, as he was reported able and diligent (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664-5, p. 76).

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664-5, p. 129. The appointment was probably made in November 1664 (*ib.* p. 68), but Taylor was at first objected to as a fanatic. William Coventry wrote of him: 'Certain it is that his abilities are great and his despatch hath heretofore been eminent,' adding, 'As to his being a fanatic, I have nothing to say for or against it, but I believe you will have need of all hands to the work now cut out, and I think there is as little danger of them in harbour as at sea, if not less, and I believe profit will convert the greatest part of them' (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, civ. 104). The patent is dated 23 March, 1664–5 (Duckett, p. 12).

[4] The patent is dated 28 Feb. 1667-8 (Duckett, p. 30; see also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667-8, p. 258).

[5] Sir George Duckett (p. 29) gives 25 March, 1668, as the date at which the yard was finally discharged, but it was being paid off in December 1667 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667-8, p. 91).

[6] *S. P. Dom.* Docquet, vol. xxiii. No. 186. The *Calendar of State Papers*, 1667-8, p. 219, refers in error to the revocation of Taylor's commission as if it were a fresh grant to him.

[7] *Ib.* Pett had been suspended 29 Sept. 1667 (*D. N. B.* xlv. 103). For the charges against him see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, pp. xix and 89.

[8] The last reference to Commissioner John Taylor in the State Papers is dated 14 Jan. 1669–70 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1670, p. 20). His widow is mentioned in an undated letter of 1670 (*ib.* p. 629).

[9] 29 March, 1669 (Duckett, p. 30; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* Addenda, 1660–1670, p. 734).

In addition to the changes in the composition of the navy board already described, an additional member was added to the board during the period under consideration in consequence of the reorganisation of the comptroller's office, which was one of the permanent results of the second Dutch war. It had already been recognised in official quarters that it was a physical impossibility for the comptroller to discharge all the duties that were assigned to his office. He was supposed to serve as a check upon the treasurer of the navy by keeping duplicate accounts; and he was also required to audit the storekeepers' accounts, and to supervise the payments made to the victuallers. But in the Duke of York's original proposals for the regulation of the navy, made at the beginning of the reign,[7] it had been pointed out that this never had been done and never could be done; 'and therefore to have such a title, and no performance of the duties, is but a mere shadow without a substance.'[8] Sir Robert Slyngesbie also, who had been the first comptroller of the reign, in his *Discourse of the Navy*, presented to the king in 1660, refers to 'some new erected places' 'lately projected,' and among these to a plan for establishing 'an office of check upon the victualler,' and for 'more exact auditing accounts of stores,' 'which,' he adds, 'it is most true hath been very superficially kept hitherto.'[1] The increase of business caused by the war, and the administrative confusion which it created, brought these schemes to the front, and by an Order in Council, dated 16 January, 1666–7,[2] two assistant comptrollers were appointed—one, Lord Brouncker, for the treasurer's accounts, and the other, Sir William Penn, for the victuallers' and pursers' accounts. As both these were already commissioners of the navy the composition of the board was not affected, but in 1671 a further addition was made to this department, and Sir John Ernle, a man young for office but of some experience at sea, was appointed comptroller of the stores.[3] When Penn retired from the office of comptroller of the victuallers' accounts in the year before his death, he was succeeded by Sir Jeremy Smyth, vice-admiral of the blue.[4] Thus the navy board, which began with seven members, was increased to eleven[5] by the end of the war, was reduced to eight[1] by the policy of retrenchment that followed it, and at the end of the period, in 1673, it stood at ten.[2]

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[1] Wheatley, p. 285; *Diary*, viii. 222.
[2] Wheatley, p. 285.
[3] See p. 13, *supra.*
[4] Wheatley, p. 286.
[5] His salary was paid from 26 Dec. 1672 (Duckett, p. 31).
[6] 29 June, 1672 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 290). The patent is dated 3 July, 1672 (Duckett, p. 30).
[7] See p. 6, *supra.*
[8] Penn, ii. 590; see also Pepysian MSS. No. 2554, *Mr. Pepys's Defence of the Navy, upon an Inquisition thereinto by Parliament*, 1669. The pages of this manuscript are not numbered, but the reference is to p. 35.

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[1] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), pp. 338–40.

[2] Penn, ii. 435. Pepys thought the alteration a great improvement (*Diary*, vi. 55 and 141).

[3] 23 June, 1671 (Duckett, p. 30).

[4] The patent is dated 17 June, 1669 (Duckett, p. 30). A letter of 25 Sept. 1669, printed in Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 541, makes it clear that at that date Penn was no longer in charge of the victuallers' and pursers' accounts, as he is applied to by the navy board, acting on behalf of his successor, for some of the books of the office that were missing. It is probable that he retired at the time of the signing of the new victualling contract on 24 Feb. 1668–9, if not earlier (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668–9, p. 208; *Diary*, viii. 140–1, 146). His salary was paid to 25 March, 1669 (Duckett, p. 31). Penn died 16 Sept. 1670 (*D. N. B.* xliv. 310).

[5] At the beginning of 1667 the board consisted of the following: Sir George Carteret, treasurer, Sir John Mennes, comptroller, Sir William Batten, surveyor, Samuel Pepys, clerk of the acts; Sir William Penn, William Coventry, Lord Brouncker, and Sir Thomas Harvey, extra commissioners; Peter Pett, at Chatham, Thomas

In connexion with these changes one or two other points of reorganisation should be briefly noticed. The establishment of resident commissioners at Portsmouth and Harwich as well as at Chatham had been called for by the unsatisfactory condition of the yards. At Woolwich, in 1662, Pepys found 'all things out of order;'[3] at Deptford 'laziness' and 'many abuses;'[4] and even at Chatham 'great disorder by multitude of servants and old decrepid men.'[5] But although he himself expresses great dissatisfaction with Commissioner Pett at Chatham, and remarks that nothing is 'in better condition here for his being here than they are in other yards where there is none,'[6] the policy of placing a commissioner of the navy to reside in the king's yards found favour with his colleagues. It was expected that the presence of a resident commissioner at Portsmouth, where also things were 'ill enough,' would 'keep the yard in order.'[7] In connexion with Captain Taylor's appointment to Harwich, the duke had expressed the opinion that the commissioners should be persons of ability, always resident, armed

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Middleton at Portsmouth, and John Taylor at Harwich, resident commissioners.

[1] At the beginning of 1669 the board consisted of the following: Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Thomas Littleton, joint treasurers, Sir John Mennes, comptroller, Thomas Middleton, surveyor, Samuel Pepys, clerk of the acts; Lord Brouncker, comptroller of the treasurer's accounts, Sir William Penn, comptroller of the victuallers' and pursers' accounts; John Tippetts at Portsmouth; Chatham vacant.

[2] In 1673, before the changes that followed the Test Act, the board consisted of the following: Sir Thomas Osborne (now Viscount Osborne), treasurer, Sir Thomas Allin, comptroller, John Tippetts, surveyor, Samuel Pepys, clerk of the acts; Lord Brouncker, comptroller of the treasurer's accounts, Sir Jeremy Smyth, comptroller of the victuallers' and pursers' accounts, Sir John Ernle, comptroller of the stores; Edward Seymour, extra commissioner; Richard Beach at Chatham, Anthony Deane at Portsmouth, resident commissioners.

[3] *Diary*, ii. 293 (31 July, 1662).

[4] *Ib.* ii. 273, 302 (2 July and 8 Aug.).

[5] *Ib.* ii. 297 (4 Aug.).

[6] *Ib.* iii. 235 (2 Aug. 1663).

[7] *Ib.* iii. 242–3 (9 Aug. 1663).

with sufficient authority over the officers of the dockyards to settle disputes, and of ability to manage naval affairs with despatch, with little to do elsewhere to cause their absence;[1] and this was exactly what the yards needed. But hitherto the resident commissioners had had no power to act independently of the rest of the navy board. Their instructions were now modified by an order from the duke to the board, dated 15 March, 1668–9, so as to allow 'that in cases which . . . are of such exigence and require such despatch that without prejudice to his Majesty's service they cannot be deferred till an account be given to the board, and an answer returned from thence, the commissioners of the out-ports have power to do whatsoever might or ought to have been done by the whole board,' provided that such cases be reported to the board.[2]

The navy board was by tradition the lord high admiral's council of advice for that branch of his office which was concerned with the government of the navy,[3] and Monson alludes to its members as 'the conduit pipes to whom the lord admiral properly directs all his commands for his Majesty's service, and from whom it descends to all other inferior officers and ministers under them whatsoever.'[4] In practice they enjoyed very large administrative powers, for they were authorised 'to cause all ordinary businesses to be done according to the ancient and allowed practice of the office, and extraordinary according to the warrants and directions from the lord admiral and the state,'[1] but in theory they existed only to carry out the admiral's instructions, and these instructions had been issued from time to time by previous admirals, each following more or less closely on the lines of his predecessor. Such formal instructions were issued by James, Duke of York, on 28 January, 1661-2.[2] They were founded upon some earlier instructions issued in 1640 by the Earl of Northumberland, who had been appointed lord high admiral in 1638. It was at one time supposed that Pepys himself drew up the instructions of 1662 under the direction of the duke, but it is clear that they are not new instructions but only those of 1640 revised and improved; that Pepys, who was then new to office, was not at all likely to have been so employed; and that if any one had a hand in the revision it was probably Penn.[3] James himself does not claim originality for the document. 'I have thought fit,' he says, 'to ratify and confirm certain orders which I understand were formerly published by the Earl of Northumberland (being then admiral) with some small additions and alterations.' It is interesting to find that the instructions of 1662 were not superseded in their turn, but remained in force until the admiralty was reorganised at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[4] They were printed in 1717 from an imperfect copy under the title *The Œconomy of H.M.'s Navy Office*;[5] but there are two complete copies in the Pepysian

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664–5, p. 75.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 401.

[3] The other important side of the lord high admiral's office was the admiralty jurisdiction, with its judicial machinery in London, and its executive machinery of vice-admirals in every maritime shire. In connexion with this the lord high admiral enjoyed several important privileges in time of war, which were restated by Order in Council on 6 March, 1665–6. He was entitled to salvage for all ships rescued from the enemy; enemy's ships and goods brought into English ports by mistake or stress of weather were his; also those seized at sea by ships not carrying the king's commission, or deserted by the ship's company (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, vi. 43–5).

[4] Monson, *Naval Tracts* (Churchill's Voyages, iii. 321).

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2611, Sir William Penn's *Collections*, p. 4.

[2] In so doing the duke was carrying out what Slyngesbie had 'humbly proposed' in his *Discourse of the Navy* of 1660, that 'in order for the regulating of' the navy office, 'which by the frequent vicissitudes of form is still in great confusion, whereby neither are accounts exactly kept, nor sufficient order taken for the rectifying of known abuses, or preventing the like for the future,' 'his Royal Highness would vouchsafe, according to the precedents of his predecessors, the lord high admirals of England, to regulate the navy by his princely instructions, to be preserved in the office in a book fairly written, as a direction for every officer to walk by in the execution of the duty of his place' (*N. R. S.* vol. vii. p. 342).

[3] Wheatley, p. 138; Penn, ii. 268; Pepys's *Diary*, ii. 184, note.

[4] Wheatley, p. 138.

[5] *D. N. B.* xxix. 183.

Library—one among *Naval Precedents*,[1] and another in Sir William Penn's *Collections*.[2] The first part is also copied into another collection of papers, under the title 'The Duty of the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy jointly considered.'[3]

The covering letter from the duke to the officers that accompanied the instructions is printed in Penn's *Memorials of Sir William Penn*.[4] There occurs also among the Pepysian manuscripts[5] a copy of similar instructions issued by Buckingham, as lord high admiral, in the reign of James I, and Northumberland's instructions of 1640 are to be found among Sir William Penn's *Naval Tracts*;[6] we are thus enabled to trace the changes effected in the organisation of the navy office, as it existed on paper, through the reigns of three Stuarts. Without going into the details of comparison, it will be sufficient to notice (1) that the instructions of 1662 are rather more detailed and elaborate than the earlier instructions, and (2) that each of the two later revisions contributes an improvement of real importance. Thus, the instructions of 1662 introduce a whole series of minute directions to the navy board relating to the purchasing of stores 'where there is best and best cheape' which do not occur in the instructions of Buckingham. They are to inquire the market price of masts, deal, hemp, tar, pitch, &c. 'at the season of the year when the East Country commodities come into the River,' and they are to receive weekly returns from the custom-house 'of such goods as have been entered, and are useful to the navy, with the names of the merchants who entered them, that so the purveyors may not delude them with the pretence of scarcity when choice may be had, or oblige them to one merchant when divers might afford more choice and easier rates.'[1] Again, both the instructions of 1640 and those of 1662 improve on the earlier arrangements for the meetings of the navy board. Under the earlier instructions the board had consisted of the four 'principal officers' only. The treasurer and the clerk of the acts were to live at Deptford, and the comptroller and surveyor at Chatham, 'at least so as one of them continually reside at either place,' 'to govern all under-officers, clerks, workmen, mariners, and others, causing their ordinances to be duly observed by encouraging the diligent and faithful, and rebuking the negligent and disorderly persons.'[2] They were to hold their meetings weekly, or fortnightly at least, at London, Deptford, Chatham, 'or other convenient place.' The result of this was, as Slyngesbie points out, that 'inconveniences' happened 'by the remote habitations of one officer to another,'[3] and accordingly Northumberland's instructions required the officers 'for the common benefit of the subject,' 'to live as near together as conveniently they may, and appoint and publish a certain and known place for their meeting, and there to meet at certain and appointed days twice every week at the least.'[1] Provision was also made for occasional meetings at the yards 'at convenient times and seasons of the year' to transact the business proper to each yard. Finally the instructions of 1662 improve on both the earlier instructions in one very important point. 'It being supposed that of late times persons employed in the affairs of the navy and many inferior officers in the navy traded for such commodities as were used in the navy,' the members of the navy board 'are from the ill consequences of it to take care that neither themselves nor any inferior officers in the navy trade in any such commodities, or go sharers with any merchant in any way for commodities sold to the navy,' on pain of dismissal from the service, 'since it is more than probable that such practices (if allowed) would make way for serving and receiving in unfit commodities and at exorbitant rates.'[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, pp. 356–98.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2611, pp. 127–90.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, *An Inquisition by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, when Lord High Admiral of England, into the Management of the Navy*, 1668, *with his regulations thereon*, pp. 1–18.

[4] ii. 265; the contracted form 'com^{rs}' being wrongly read as 'commanders.' There are MS. copies in Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 352, and No. 2611, p. 121. The letter itself contains references to the difficulties occasioned by the want of money, which prevented the discharge of unnecessary and negligent workmen and those past work, the ordinary in some yards being 'rather fit for an hospital than the king's service, an abuse which is not to be suffered.'

[5] No. 2611, Sir William Penn's *Collections*, pp. 1–63.

[6] Sloane MSS. No. 3232, pp. 87–138. This copy is wrongly dated 1646. The same volume, pp. 139–192, also contains a copy of Buckingham's instructions, undated.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 359. This was all very well on paper, but, as Pepys pertinently remarked in 1668 in another connexion, 'that want of money under which this office has laboured, hath for the most part prevented us in the benefit expected' from inquiries about the market price of commodities, 'by urging us to the supplying ourselves not where we could buy cheapest with money, but where we could be trusted on the best terms without it' (Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, p. 95).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2611, Sir William Penn's *Collections*, p. 3.

[3] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 342.

Subsequent changes of system which had the effect, if not the form, of modifications in the instructions of 1662 should be noticed briefly here. On 18 July, 1662, an additional instruction was communicated to the navy board in a letter from the duke,[3] which incorporated into the permanent system of the navy a reform already adopted by the Commonwealth in 1651. The subordinate officers who gave more trouble than any others were the pursers, who were negligent and lazy, and took full advantage of their numerous opportunities for peculation.[1] It was now provided that in future, as under the Commonwealth,[2] security for the proper performance of their duties should be taken from pursers serving on board the king's ships. The amount of the security was to be determined by the ship's rate. In first-rates the purser's bond was to be for 600*l.*, in second-rates 500*l.*, third-rates 400*l.*, fourth-rates 300*l.*, fifth and sixth-rates 200*l.* Notwithstanding this, untrustworthy pursers continued to give a great deal of trouble.[3]

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[1] Sloane MSS. No. 3232, p. 92. The desirability of the officers living together had been recognised and discussed in 1635 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1635, p. 315). After 1654 the meetings took place at Sir John Wolstenholme's house in Seething Lane, which had been purchased in that year to be used as a navy office, and was so used until about 1780, when the board removed to Somerset House (Oppenheim, p. 349; Robinson, *The British Fleet*, p. 153).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 359-60. Hollond, in his *Second Discourse of the Navy*, denounces 'that lawless liberty the commissioners of the navy assume to themselves to be at the same time commissioners of the navy and private merchants or otherwise traders and dealers both by sea and land in foreign and home commodities; by whose example they indulge and encourage all subordinate instruments to dance after their pipe and to do the same things' (see pp. 309-310, *et seq.*). The prohibition of the practice in 1662, which was an innovation (Pepysian MSS. No. 2554, p. 24), was intended to check a most serious abuse.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 399-400.

The changes in the comptroller's office have been indicated already in another connexion;[4] it should be noticed here that in 1671 an alteration of some importance was made in the status of the treasurer of the navy,[5] particulars of which are to be found among the Pepysian manuscripts. On 6 September, 1671, a set of revised instructions for the treasurer's office received the sanction of the king in council, and on 25 September these were formally communicated by the duke to the navy board.[6] Their object appears to have been to bring the treasurer very much more under the control of the board. The tradition of the treasurer's office made him a very important functionary. He was chief of the principal officers, and even after his poundage was abolished he still enjoyed four times the salary of any other member of the board.[1] In conformity with this tradition, the instructions of 1662 had recognised his independent authority over the finances of the navy. By them he is made responsible rather to the lord high admiral than to the navy board, and although his fellow-officers are required to warrant his payments by their signatures, and no payment can be made without their consent, he is specially instructed 'to pay no bill, although sufficiently warranted,' where 'either the king or the party to whom the same is due may be damnified.'[2] By the new instructions of 1671 the treasurer of the navy is required to submit weekly accounts, both of receipts and payments, to the navy board, which, 'after perusal by the board,' are to be put into the hands of the comptroller of the treasurer's accounts;[3] no money is to be paid or disposed of without the order of the board,[4] and when such order is given, no such payments are 'to be by the treasurer upon any consideration denied or delayed.' The treasurer's status is clearly defined as that of an ordinary member of the board, for he is to consider himself 'in the same condition of trust, quality, and power wherewith the rest without distinction perform their joint duties of officers of the navy,' and he is required, either in person or (in his necessary absence) by his 'cashier,' to 'attend all meetings of the board, there to give satisfaction or receive direction from the said board in all matters relating to his office.' He is also 'as the rest of the said principal officers by the admiral's instructions are already obliged, to make the house and office provided by his Majesty for that purpose the place of his constant residence and habitation.'[1] Two minor modifications in the treasurer's duties are also made by these instructions of 1671. In order to remove 'the several inconveniencies arising from the interfering of accounts between the treasurer and the victualler of the navy, occasioned by their separate receipt of the moneys allotted for the common expense thereof,' the treasurer 'shall from henceforward receive and issue as well all moneys appointed for the use of the victualling as for any other part of his Majesty's marine service;' and the treasurer is made directly responsible for the punctual payment of dues to the Chest at Chatham 'for the better preventing for the future the just occasion of clamour of the poor mariners belonging to the Chest,' and also for the claims of the slopseller on the wages of seamen, in order to remedy 'the inconveniencies his Majesty's service often suffers in the unhealthiness of his seamen abroad by the want of clothes.'[2]

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[1] Oppenheim, p. 356. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom. passim.* The iniquities of the pursers were, however, sometimes due to the want of money in the navy—as when Captain Allin, of the Lion, complained in 1662 that the victualler at Dover would pay his purser no money for necessaries; thus pursers are driven to borrow or steal, or buy on ill terms (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 485). Pepys noted in the *Diary*, on 22 Nov. 1665, that 'a purser without professed cheating is a professed loser, twice as much as he gets' (v. 152).

[2] By an order of 1652 (Oppenheim, p. 356).

[3] Monck wrote to the navy commissioners on 10 Jan. 1665–6 that no part of naval affairs more needed regulation than the disorderly conduct of the pursers (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1665–6, p. 198). Sir John Mennes complained on 1 May, 1666, that pursers in general were very negligent of their duties (*ib.* p. 375); and nearly a twelvemonth later, on 12 March, 1666–7, we find him writing to the navy board that if they will have the service carried on cheerfully, they must soundly punish the pursers for their negligence and other gross abuses (*ib.* 1666–7, p. 557. See also *ib.* 1665–6, pp. 399 and 590).

[4] See p. 16, *supra.*

[5] But see pp. 87–8, *infra.*

[6] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 519.

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[1] See p. 8, *supra*.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 365-6.

[3] That these instructions gave the comptroller of the treasurer's accounts a real hold upon the treasurer is shown by a letter from Lord Brouncker to the navy board, dated 21 Nov. 1671 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 579).

[4] 'The use of tickets excepted, which, after due examination in the . . . comptroller's office, are by the practice of the navy made payable by the treasurer upon the single hand of the said comptroller, or in his absence of any other principal officer or commissioner of the navy.'

The facts given in the foregoing pages suggest that during the period 1660-1673 the higher administration of the navy was in the hands of men of whom some were able and most were experienced in naval affairs; and that these men worked under instructions which were at any rate good enough to survive without material alteration until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Yet in spite of this there is abundant evidence in the Pepysian manuscripts and elsewhere to show that the history of naval administration during the greater part of the period is a record of disastrous failure. The reason why the collapse was so complete is explained by the pressure of the second

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 524.

[2] *Ib.*

Dutch war upon the resources of the naval administration, but the essential causes lay deeper than external events. These are indicated by Pepys in a striking passage in the *Diary*, written 15 August, 1666: 'Thence walked over the Park with Sir W. Coventry, in our way talking of the unhappy state of our office; and I took an opportunity to let him know, that though the backwardnesses of all our matters of the office may be well imputed to the known want of money, yet perhaps there might be personal and particular failings; and that I did therefore depend still upon his promise of telling me whenever he finds any ground to believe any defect or neglect on my part, which he promised me still to do; and that there was none he saw, nor indeed, says he, is there room now-a-days to find fault with any particular man, while we are in this condition for money.'[1] It would be idle to pretend that in the period immediately following the Restoration officials had clean hands, and Pepys himself is convicted on his own confession.[2] The higher naval administration, itself not entirely free from corruption, had also to contend with idleness and dishonesty in the lower ranks of the service, due to a relaxation of the standards of public and private duty. But the disasters of the period are not to be accounted for by 'personal and particular failings' alone; it was the combination of these with financial disorder that ruined the navy office, as it would have ruined any other public department in any country and at any time.

The subject of naval finance has been treated below in a separate section;[3] it will be enough at this point to notice that the want of money in the navy is being constantly referred to in the *Diary*, before, during, and after the second Dutch war. On the subject of the 'personal and particular failings' of his colleagues, however, the diarist is not always to be trusted, for he is sometimes irritable, and often disposed to be self-righteous. For instance, he associates in condemnation two men so different from each other as Sir John Mennes, the comptroller, and Sir William Batten, the surveyor [1]—the former harmless but incompetent, the latter a man upright for his times, whose whole career makes it most improbable that he was inefficient even towards the close of it. Pepys the diarist makes his entries in different moods, and his attacks on persons are not always to be taken seriously; but fortunately we are in a position to appeal from Pepys the diarist to Pepys the official. The episode of the Duke of York's remonstrance to the navy board in 1668 has been treated so briefly by the biographers of Pepys, who was the prime mover in it, that it seems worth while for the story to be told more fully from the materials contained in the Pepysian Library,[2] especially as these supply what the *Diary* does not—an authoritative and reasoned criticism of the higher administration of the navy during a good part of the period 1660–1673.

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[1] *Diary*, v. 400.

[2] *Diary*, *passim*. See also p. 35, *infra*, note.

[3] See p. 98, *infra*.

On 24 July, 1668, Pepys had an interview with the duke, who had already shown himself 'very hot for regulations in the navy.' [3] 'I did long and largely show him the weakness of our office,' he writes, 'and did give him advice to call us to account for our duties, which he did take mighty well, and desired me to draw up what I would have him write to the office.' [4] Pepys drew up the document accordingly, and on 20 August forwarded it to the duke with a covering letter,[5] in which he contended that the principal cause of failure in naval administration (after the want of money, to which 'may be rightfully imputed most of the ill husbandries and many of the other evils attending the late war'), was neglect of the lord high admiral's instructions of 1662,[1] and that on points of such importance that they could not 'remain unreformed without delivering up the whole service to ruin.' The document that accompanied this communication was a detailed and elaborate criticism, in the form of a letter to the navy board, of the way in which the instructions of 1662 had been carried out. It proceeds from the particular to the general, beginning with a series of extracts from the instructions on the duties of individual officers, to each of which a 'reflection' is attached, and concluding with similar quotations and 'reflections' on 'the duty of the principal officers and commissioners of the navy jointly considered.' The points raised are very numerous, and only the more important of them can be referred to here. The treasurer of the navy was charged with general remissness in attendance at the navy board, and in particular with neglecting that part of his duty which required him to be present at the discussion of contracts and estimates; his accounts had not been presented annually to the board, but were seldom less than two years in arrear, and the form in which they were drawn up failed to show all the particulars required by the instructions; it was also suggested that the want of money during the war had been aggravated by the treasurer's remissness in applying for it. The charges against the comptroller were more serious. He had neglected a large part of the details of his office, particularly the duties of examining the muster-books of the fleet, of casting ships' books before the pays, of keeping a proper account of the payment of tickets,[2] and of keeping accounts of payments in such a form as properly to control the treasurer and victualler. His office was also charged with total neglect of the very important articles in the instructions which required him to audit and balance the treasurer's, victuallers', and storekeepers' accounts. The surveyor had neglected to present annually to the board the reports required of him on the present state of the dockyards, ships, and stores; he had also committed his duty of auditing the accounts of the boatswains and carpenters 'wholly' 'to the discretion and faithfulness of under-officers.'[1] No specific charges were brought against the clerk of the acts. These criticisms upon the conduct of particular officers were followed by an attack upon the navy board in its corporate capacity. Notwithstanding the provision made by the king for enabling members of the board to reside near each other, it was complained that during the war it had never been possible to obtain a quorum upon an emergency; the regular meetings also were too few, short, and too ill attended to deal properly with the business that came before them; and the papers and accounts of the office were not kept in such order as to enable the members of the board to inform themselves readily concerning matters about which inquiry was made.

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[1] *Diary*, iii. 85–6, 147; iv. 107. For other complaints of the disorder of the office, see iii. 93, 121, 294; iv. 245.

[2] These are contained in MS. 2242, *An Inquisition by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, when Lord High Admiral of England, into the Management of the Navy*, 1668, *with his regulations thereon.*

[3] *Diary*, viii. 59 (1 July, 1668).

[4] *Ib.* viii. 70 (24 July, 1668)

[5] Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, p. 22.

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[1] See p. 20, *supra*.

[2] See p. 142, *infra*.

The paper thus drawn up by Pepys was accepted by the duke without alteration,[2] and signed by him on 26 August. On 28 August it was delivered by him in person to the navy board, with a request that the members would reply to the charges within fourteen days. These replies[3] were very elaborate, but they practically admitted the truth of the indictment. Two pleas, however, were advanced by the comptroller in mitigation of judgment which applied equally well to the case of his colleagues—that he had 'followed the steps of his predecessors,'[4] and that 'the war coming on, and God's hand of visitation[1] being upon us, the daily supplies sent to the fleet, and weighty affairs attending thereupon,'[2] had made it impossible for him to discharge all the duties which the instructions of 1662 required of him. One officer alone came off with flying colours, and that was the clerk of the acts.[3]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, p. 41.

[2] 'In my very words, without alteration of a syllable' (*Diary*, viii. 90, 27 Aug. 1668). The letter as drafted by Pepys is given in Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, pp. 25–47. The letter as signed by the duke is given in Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 484–509. A comparison of these justifies the statement in the *Diary*, for the only change is an omission, and not an alteration—the omission of the phrase, 'to the insupportable obstruction of his Majesty's service' (MS. No. 2242, p. 49), perhaps because it was too strong.

[3] These are given in Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, pp. 50–101.

[4] *Ib.* p. 79.

As soon as the replies came in to the duke they were passed over to Pepys, the organiser of the whole transaction. He proceeded to digest them into a short form for the duke's convenience, and on 2 November forwarded his summary[4] to Mr. Wren, the admiral's secretary, with a letter,[5] in which he gives his own opinion of the state of the navy office. 'The pest of this office,' he writes, 'has all along been an indifference in some of the principal members of it in seeing their work done, provided they found themselves furnished with any tolerable pretence for their personal failures in the doing it; whereas the value of the naval action has been such as to render every branch of it considerable, and every remiss performance thereof more chargeable to his Majesty than the wages of such an officer many times told.'

Pepys was next commissioned to prepare the duke's

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[1] A reference to the Great Plague.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, p. 68.

[3] *Ib.* p. 100; *Diary*, viii. 102, 11 Sept. 1668. One point in Pepys's defence is of special interest. He comments on the enormous increase of business in the navy, and taking what was with him a favourite standard of comparison—the Dutch war of 1653—gives particulars of transactions in his office. These are amplified by a marginal note, probably of later date than the text of his defence, as follows:—

Between May 1652 *and December* 1653			*Between September* 1664 *and September* 1667		
Letters	390	798	Letters	5,329	8,848
Orders	288		Orders	3,113	
Contracts			Contracts	406	

Allowing for the fact that the second period is nearly twice as long as the first, this means that business had increased about sixfold.

[4] Given in Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, pp. 104–18; see also *Diary*, viii. 137.

[5] Given in Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, p. 102.

rejoinder, but here his zeal outran the discretion of his master, and the vigorous remonstrance sent by him to Mr. Wren on 13 November [1] came down to the navy board from the duke on 28 November with many of its expressions softened ; [2] although even in this form the reprimand was a severe one. The duke insisted on the instructions of 1662 being carried out to the letter, especially the one which required the comptroller to balance the storekeepers' accounts ; and in three minor points he urged a new practice upon the board. He adopts an earlier recommendation of their own, that they should be permitted to employ 'some particular solicitor and counsellor' to conduct their legal business ; he requires the clerk of the acts to keep a register of attendance at the meetings of the board ; and he declares that the surveyor's instructions are in future to be interpreted as requiring him to keep account not only of timber lying in the king's yards, but also in the royal forests of Alice Holt, Dean, Whittlewood, and Sherwood, or in any other place to which it might be conveyed for the king's use. It should be noticed here that later on the difficulty of getting the storekeepers' accounts properly balanced [3] led to an increase in the comptroller's staff. By an Order in Council, dated 12 February, 1668-9,[4] a special officer, accountable to the comptroller, was appointed in each yard to balance the storekeeper's accounts, and the comptroller himself was allowed an additional clerk in his office for this purpose.

The charges made against the navy office by the Duke of York in 1668 were on the whole charges which could be sustained; it is interesting to find among the Pepysian manuscripts very full particulars of certain other charges, made in the following year, which on the whole were not sustained. The commission of public accounts appointed in 1667 was still sitting in 1669, and on 29 September of that year it addressed to the officers of the navy certain 'observations' upon 'some proceedings of theirs in reference to the late war and the management thereof.' Pepys himself was away at the time,[1] and the two other members of the board who had served during the war—Lord Brouncker and Sir John Mennes—were content to refer the commissioners to him, 'who, as clerk of the acts, and . . . as a person constant at the board, was best able to give an account of the actions of the board in general.' The result of this was an elaborate and methodical defence of the navy, presented to the commissioners 27 November, 1669; and afterwards supplemented by a 'particular defence' relating to Pepys's 'own single conduct,' dated 6 January, 1669–70. This forms a separate manuscript volume in the Pepysian Library, catalogued as *Mr. Pepys's Defence of the Navy upon an Inquisition thereinto by Parliament*, 1669;[2] and there is also another copy among the Pepysian *Miscellanies*.[3] The manuscript contains an interesting reference to the *Diary*, for we find Pepys writing as follows: 'Among the many thousands under whose observation my employment must have placed me, I challenge any man to assign one day from my first admission to this service in July 1660 to the determination of the war, August 1667, . . . of which I am not this day able upon oath to give an account of the particular manner of my employing the same.'[4]

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[1] *Diary*, viii. 150.

[2] Mr. Wren, after reading Pepys's draft, 'doubted whether it would be necessary for the duke to write in so sharp a style to the office' (*ib.*). The first draft and the revised letter are copied out in parallel columns in Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, pp. 122-34, and the latter is also to be found in Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 510-18. See also *Diary*, viii. 149, 150, and 160 (12, 13, and 20 Nov. 1668). The letter was signed 25 Nov., but was not actually delivered to the board by Pepys until 28 Nov. (*Diary*, viii. 164, 165, 167).

[3] See p. 16 *supra*.

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 2242, pp. 143-4.

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[1] He had obtained leave of absence on account of his eyesight, and had set out on a tour through France and Holland; he returned in the autumn of 1669 (*D. N. B.* xliv. 362).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2554. A copy and the original (returned to Pepys at the dissolution of the commission) are bound up together.

[3] vi. 509–581.

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 2554.

Though the greater part of this document, as would naturally be the case, is concerned with financial details, some points of interest in connexion with the general administration of the navy come up incidentally. Most of the charges were fairly met by Pepys with what were, after all, the real excuses for the disorder of the navy office—the want of money, and the way in which the time and energies of the navy board had been diverted from the details of administration by the absorbing business of the war. When the commissioners charged the board with allowing breaches of contract in point of time, Pepys replied that 'their own greater failures in point of payment did for the most part leave them little remedy against the contractor for lapse of time.' In answer to the accusation that the board had neglected to maintain an effective supervision over the inferior officers during the war, he referred to the very large number of cases in which the board did actually punish 'negligences and misdemeanours' by 'imprisonments, defalcations, and sometimes loss of wages; by suspension from and frequently the final forfeitures of their offices; and lastly, prosecutions at law, where other ways of righting his Majesty lay not open to them, and all this under the burden of a war doubled by the difficulties extraordinary with which they were to undergo it.' The commissioners also complained that the pursers of ships at sea had received money to buy victuals from victuallers who were unable to supply in kind, and had then put the ship's company upon short allowance to their own profit. Pepys threw the responsibility for preventing 'secret transactions between the victualler and pursers' upon the commanders of the ships and not upon the navy board, but his own opinion of pursers encourages us to think that such transactions were only too possible.[1] Two other important charges remain to be noticed—that the board had bought goods for the use of the navy at excessive prices, and that in making contracts they had given preference to particular persons. The answer made by Pepys to the first of these charges was crushing as argument, but full of facts that show the terrible waste caused by the want of money. The merchant 'resolved to save himself in the uncertainty of his payment by the greatness of his price.' The navy board bought hemp at 57*l.* a ton on credit, while the same quality was being sold for cash at 49*l.* 10*s.* A 30*s.* rate ready money was quoted them for 'iron furnaces' for Harwich, 'with a refusal of 50*s.* to be paid by bill.' Deals offered at 8*l.* for cash were afterwards bought on credit for 12*l.* The charge of favouritism in contracts Pepys was not so successful in meeting. The favourite of the board had been Sir William Warren, a merchant who dealt in masts, deals, and 'Norway stores.' Pepys shows that in some cases, at any rate, tenders for these goods had been asked for from other merchants also; but certain confessions in the *Diary* are very damaging to the case for the defence.[1]

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[1] See p. 24, *supra*.

The 'observations' of the commissioners and Pepys's written defence were afterwards made the subject of proceedings at the council board, and the commissioners of accounts and the officers of the navy were called in to fight out their duel there. The first meeting was held 10 January and the last 21 February, 1669-70. The matters charged against the navy board were fully debated, article by article, with the occasional intervention of the king or the Duke of York. The honours of the debate fell to Pepys, on whom the burden of the defence came. His diary of the proceedings is among the papers in the Pepysian Library.[1]

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[1] 'So to my office, and among other things with Sir W. Warren 4 hours or more till very late, talking of one thing or another, and have concluded a firm league with him in all just ways to serve him and myself all I can, and I think he will be a most useful and thankful man to me. So home to supper and to bed' (*Diary*, iv. 350, 6 Feb. 1664-5). Warren's thankfulness had already taken a tangible shape on more than one occasion (*ib.* iii. 37; iv. 31, 206, 208, 242, 243, 266). One of the contracts specially criticised by the commissioners was one for 'almost 1,000 Gottenburg masts, the biggest that ever was made in the navy' (*ib.* iv. 193, 21 July, 1664). For this Warren 'confessed himself' Pepys's 'debtor 100*l.*' (*ib.* iv. 206, 2 Aug. 1664), and not long after he brought him the 100*l.* 'in a bag' (*ib.* 243, 16 Sept.). Pepys 'joyfully' carried it home in a coach, Warren himself 'expressly taking care that nobody might see this business done' (*ib.* p. 244).

1673–1679.—The Test Act, which received the royal assent 29 March, 1673, was destined to drive the lord high admiral from office, and to bring about other changes in the higher administration of the navy. But the necessity for taking the test did not arise immediately, and the Duke of York's resignation did not actually take place until 15 June.[2] Two days before the duke's resignation new instructions for the admiral's office were adopted by the king in council, and a copy of them was ordered to be sent to 'his Royal Highness, the lord high admiral of England.'[3]

This paper of 13 June, three copies of which are to be found in the Pepysian Library,[4] is entitled 'Instructions established by His Majesty in Council for ascertaining the Duty of the Lord High Admiral of England.' It is a formal statement of the duties of the office in view of impending changes, but it contemplates only a single holder of the office, and gives no hint of the form the changes were to take. The lord admiral is to be 'able at all times to give his Majesty a perfect account of the state of his navy, relating to the condition both of his ships and yards, with the stores remaining, persons employed, and services to be performed therein.' For the better enabling him effectually to control his subordinates he is once at least in every month 'to visit and sit with the principal officers and commissioners of the navy at their public place and times of meetings,' and to 'demand and receive' from each of them a weekly report of his proceedings. Before giving orders for any work or service to be done he is to obtain an estimate of its cost from the comptroller, signed by three or more of the principal officers and commissioners, of whom the treasurer must be one. This estimate being approved and signed by himself, he is then 'with the treasurer' to present it to the king, 'and, the same being by him approved, to assist the said treasurer in all his solicitations with his Majesty and the lord high treasurer for the obtaining seasonable and sufficient supplies of money' for enabling the officers of the navy to carry on the services required from them. 'For the more regular dispensing of which moneys, when received,' the lord admiral is 'in no wise to direct or permit' the navy board 'to apply any part thereof to any other use than what it was originally assigned to, or paid in any other method or course than what is already or hereafter shall be to that purpose established by his Majesty in council.' Nor is the admiral without order from the king to command or allow his subordinates to do anything 'contrary to the known and allowed practice and precedent of the navy,' nor is he to 'make or interpose in the making' of any contract except the contracts for victualling, 'the same being always to be done by his Majesty at the council board, after being first consulted on and prepared by the lord treasurer and lord admiral.' The admiral is only to promote deserving officers, and he is not to grant any commission on shore to any commander 'without the privity and approval of his Majesty first had in writing therein.' He is to proceed 'in all matters herein not specified' according to the known and allowed practice of the navy or according to orders received from the king; and he is 'to see that a perfect and fair record and register' of all navy proceedings be kept in an office by the secretary of the admiralty for future reference.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, vi. 385–504.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 374.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 404 ; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, pp. 369, 371.

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 401. There are two more in Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 35 and 149. There is also a copy among the State Papers (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, 335, No. 303).

This new establishment of the admiral's office, in which the importance of the king is so clearly brought out, prepared the way for the next step, which had perhaps been already determined upon. On 16 June, 1673, Prince Rupert was appointed to act against Holland as 'admiral and chief commander of our fleet for this present expedition.'[1] And on 9 July[2] a commission under the great seal was issued to Prince Rupert, the Earl of Shaftesbury (lord chancellor), Viscount Osborne (lord high treasurer), the Earl of Anglesey (keeper of the privy seal), 'and to our chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of our privy seal for the time being,' the Dukes of Buckingham, Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Ormonde, the Earl of Arlington (a principal secretary of state), Sir George Carteret (vice-chamberlain of the household), Henry Coventry (a principal secretary of state), and Edward Seymour, empowering them to execute the office of lord high admiral of England[3] now void by the resignation of the Duke of York.

By this commission only a part of the functions of the admiral's office was delegated, the rest being retained by the king himself.[4] The commission was to act in accordance with the instructions of 13 June, and such other instructions as should be hereafter made by the king in council, but all admiralty dues were to be collected for the king's 'only use and behoof,'[5] and all places and offices in the admiral's gift were to be disposed of, not by the commission but by the king. This retention of powers in the king's hands was probably intended to give an opportunity to the Duke of York, who, in spite of the Test Act, remained until 1679 an important influence in naval affairs.[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 408. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 377.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 405, and x. 221. Another copy (*Naval Precedents*, p. 144) gives the date as 19 July, perhaps by a confusion with the day on which the commission was opened. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 385.

[3] Their full title was 'the right honourable the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England' (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, v. 104).

[4] Pepys describes the effect of the commission by saying: 'His Majesty was pleased to put several parts of the said office into commission, retaining the rest in his own hands' (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 221).

[5] On 1 July, 1673, a warrant had been issued for a commission to empower Charles Wren, James Hoare, Richard Brett, and Tobias Holder to receive and sell for the king's benefit the rights, duties,

The commission of 1673 was renewed 28 July, 1675, with the substitution for Shaftesbury of Heneage, Lord Finch, keeper of the great seal, the omission of Buckingham, and the addition of the Earls of Ossory and Craven, and Sir Joseph Williamson, now Henry Coventry's colleague as secretary of state.[2] It was renewed again by letters patent on 26 September, 1677,[3] with the addition of Sir J. Ernle, chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir Thomas Chicheley, master-general of ordnance, and in this form it continued until 14 May, 1679.[4]

Upon the surrender of the Duke of York 'his Majesty was pleased' to call Mr. Pepys, 'the only survivor of the first . . . set of officers of the navy at his restoration, from his charge of clerk of the acts to that of secretary

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tenths, perquisites, &c., due to the lord high admiral during the war and during the vacancy of the admiral's office. Three of them had already acted in that capacity for the duke (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 415).

[1] This account of the duke's presence 'behind the throne' is confirmed by various references in Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters* (*e.g.* ii. 60, 90; iii. 231, 234, 235, 301, 319, 329, 331).

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 222.

[3] *Ib.* The influence of the duke was specially strong under this renewed commission of 1677, 'the despatch of the general current business thereof being wholly performed by the immediate direction of his Majesty (with the advice of his Royal Highness) to Mr. Pepys, the meetings of the commissioners being uncertain, and only in cases admitting delay and requiring the formality of public debate; at which meetings his Royal Highness did, by the king's command, always assist, until by his removal out of the land in 1678 (through the malignity of the then times) his Majesty was (to the utmost ruin of his navy) bereft of his brother's further aid therein' (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 223). '1678' is a reference to March 1678-9.

[4] It was then 'supplanted by another' (see pp. 57-8, *infra*) 'without any words of revocation of the former, though required.' *Ib.* p. 224.

to himself and the said commission in the affairs of his admiralty of England; that of Scotland, Ireland, and his foreign colonies resting still in the hands of his Royal Highness.'[1] His formal appointment apparently belongs to June 1673.[2] This important promotion can scarcely have surprised any one, for by this time his industry and method had made him one of the most efficient of naval administrators. He was succeeded in his office of clerk of the acts by his brother John Pepys and his clerk Thomas Hayter, acting jointly.[3]

The appointment of the commission of 1673 did not carry with it many other changes in the higher offices of the navy. In June[4] Osborne, now Earl of Danby, was succeeded as treasurer of the navy by Edward Seymour,[5] and the commissionership of the navy which he thus vacated fell to Captain Richard Haddock, who came of a seafaring family, and had been all his life in the service;[6] and in order to compensate Sir John Werden, who had hitherto been secretary to the lord high admiral, for his displacement by Pepys, he was made an extra commissioner of the navy.[7] But besides these, no other change was made. The comptroller was still Sir Thomas Allin, who had been appointed in April 1671;[1] John Tippetts, who had been made surveyor in September 1672,[2] continued to act in that capacity; Lord Brouncker remained comptroller of the treasurer's accounts, Sir Jeremy Smyth of the victualling, and Sir John Ernle of the stores, while Richard Beach continued to act as resident commissioner at Chatham and Anthony Deane at Portsmouth.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 221.

[2] The patent of his successors in the office of clerk of the acts is dated 18 June, 1673, and Pepys was paid to 24 June (Duckett, pp. 29, 30). In *Naval Minutes* (Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, p. 305) Pepys copies 'Mr. Hewer's account of the secretaries of the admiralty from 1660 to 1688.' According to this the first was Sir William Coventry, from June 1660 to Michaelmas 1667; the second, Matthew Wren, from Michaelmas 1667 to midsummer 1672; the third, Sir John Werden, from midsummer 1672 to May 1673; and Pepys himself the fourth, from May 1673.

[3] Duckett, p. 30; *D. N. B.* xliv. 363.

[4] The warrant for the grant is dated 19 June, 1673 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 380). Seymour was paid from 13 July (Duckett, p. 31).

[5] See p. 14, *supra*.

[6] Haddock's patent is dated 18 Aug. 1673 (Duckett, p. 30). His father and grandfather had both been captains in the navy under the Parliament (*D. N. B.* xxiii. 427).

[7] *Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson* (Camden Society, vol. ix.), i. 59: Letter from Wm. Bridgman, 23 June, 1673. The appointment must have been made in June 1673, when the general reorganisation took

The changes that took place between 1673 and 1679 were few in number, and did not in any way interfere with the character of the navy board as a body of experts. On 25 November, 1675, Sir Anthony Deane,[3] the famous shipbuilder, became comptroller of victualling, in succession to Sir Jeremy Smyth, and his place at Portsmouth was filled by Sir John Kempthorne, a distinguished officer, whose experience of the sea had begun as an apprentice in the merchant service before the civil war.[4] On 26 November an extra commissioner was appointed in the person of Sir John Chicheley, an officer of less experience but scarcely less distinction, who had fought in both the Dutch wars of the reign.[5] In 1676 Sir John Ernle ceased to be comptroller of stores, and the office appears to have remained vacant from 24 June of that year until 1680.[6] Last of all, in 1677, John Pepys died, and his place was filled by the appointment from 14 April of James Sotherne, who was Hayter's colleague as clerk of the acts until 1679.[6] Thus both at the beginning and at the end of the period the navy board consisted of twelve members. Out of the twelve who were holding office in 1679 no less than seven might fairly be described as naval experts, while two

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place, but Sir George Duckett's list gives 25 Dec. 1672, as the date from which Werden was paid (*Naval Commissioners*, p. 13).

[1] See p. 12, *supra*.

[2] See p. 13, *supra*.

[3] Duckett, p. 30. Deane had been knighted (with Tippetts and Haddock) 3 July, 1675, on the occasion of the king's visit to Portsmouth (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iv. 163).

[4] *D.N.B.* xxx. 397.

[5] *Ib.* x. 231.

[6] See p. 60, *infra*.

represented 'clerkship.'[1] Whatever charges might be sustained against a body so constituted, they could not be accused of ignorance of naval affairs.

The new admiralty commission opened on 19 July, 1673, holding its public meetings on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, 'at eight of the clock in the morning at the council chamber, until some other place shall be appointed.'[2] Two days after the commissioners made order that the navy board should attend them weekly on Saturdays at eight, and required from the board an account of the state of the navy stores, and of the present and probable future debt of the navy.[3]

The chief business of the new administration thus established in 1673 was to bring the third Dutch war to a close, and then to repair, by an energetic shipbuilding policy, that depreciation of the navy which was one of the results of the war. In this work they were on the whole successful. The admiralty commissioners were sensible and vigilant, and it is impossible for any one to read the correspondence that passed out of Pepys's office during this period[4] without coming to the conclusion that they were remarkably well served by their secretary; while the navy board was strong on the technical side of its work, and there is reason for thinking that it was fortunate in having as one of its members an official so thoroughly capable in his own department as was Anthony Deane. Moreover, although the financial difficulty was not solved, and still continued to hamper and cripple the navy in every possible way, a vigorous shipbuilding policy was made possible by the better support which Parliament now gave to naval expansion. The idea of the importance of sea power had already acquired a considerable hold upon the political classes of England, and the wars with Holland had served to extend it. Charles II had read rightly the feeling of his subjects when he had allowed his chancellor to say, in his speech to the Pension Parliament at the beginning of the eleventh session, 'There is not so lawful or commendable a jealousy in the world as an Englishman's of the growing greatness of any prince at sea.'[1]

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[1] In 1673, after the changes that followed the Test Act, the board consisted of the following: Edward Seymour, treasurer, Sir Thos. Allin, comptroller, John Tippetts, surveyor, Thos. Hayter and John Pepys, clerks of the acts, Lord Brouncker, comptroller of the treasurer's accounts, Sir Jeremy Smyth, comptroller of victualling, Sir John Ernle, comptroller of stores; also two extra commissioners, Sir John Werden and Captain Richard Haddock, and two resident commissioners, Richard Beach at Portsmouth and Anthony Deane at Chatham. Of these seven were experts—Allin, Tippetts, Smyth, Ernle, Haddock, Beach, and Deane. In 1679 James Sotherne, a clerk, had replaced John Pepys, a clerk, and Sir Jeremy Smyth and Sir John Ernle had ceased to be members of the board, but the appointment of Chicheley and Kempthorne had maintained the number of experts at seven.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 24. But from a letter ot 31 July, 1675 (*ib.* iv. 204), it appears that the commission afterwards came to meet only once a week, on Wednesdays, at Hampton Court. Pepys thought this insufficient, and the letter in question recommends that they should meet on Saturdays also.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 28.

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters.*

The state of the English fleet at the close of the third Dutch war is described in an interesting paper copied into the Pepysian *Miscellanies*, entitled 'Sir Anthony Deane's observations relating to the state of his Majesty's fleet, Anno 1674. Presented to my Lord Treasurer Danby.'[2] The effect of the indecisive actions of the year 1673—such, for instance, as the Texel (11 August), in which, without the actual loss of ships, a great amount of damage had been inflicted on the English fleet—had been considerably to reduce the effective strength of the navy. And these damages want of money made it impossible to repair. Thus Deane's report, which is dated 12 October, 1674, is in the main a gloomy one.

> 1. It's to be observed that eight of his Majesty's men-of-war is to be rebuilt, two second-rates are cast, and ten more want very great repair, so that those so out of order are not to be depended on. . . . (2) To rebuild and make

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[1] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, iv. 587.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, v. 49, 663.

good these twenty ships . . . will take up two years' time if neither money nor men be wanting to carry on the work, the stores being so exhausted, the supply of which is proper to the summer only, so that unless preparation be made in the spring the succeeding year is lost. 3. It's to be observed if the docks be filled with these ships which are to be rebuilt, those which want least repair cannot well be set out. 4. If this be the case, what is most advisable to be done to put fifty ships into a condition of service if need require? It's answered, the next spring to order the repairs of those which want least, and complete the rigging and stores, which may be done at far less charge when it may be inspected than when necessity enforceth a despatch at any rate. 5. The number of each rate to make up fifty will be six first-rates, four second-rates, sixteen third-rates, twenty-four fourth-rates . , . these being all that want least repairs may be soonest set forth. 6. If these fifty ships which want least repairs be not begun in the spring to complete them in the summer, it cannot well be done till the succeeding year, it being one whole year's loss of time if the summer be not made use of to provide provisions, there being not three months in the year that timber and plank is carried in our dirty roads which afford most of that species. 7. It's to be observed that his Majesty's own force consists of little more than these fifty ships, except some few fifth-rates, which are not to be mentioned in the time of war unless for convoys, until such time as those [to] be rebuilt and repaired be finished. 8. When these fifty ships are fitted and compared with the Dutch fleet, they are little more than one-third in number and strength, and about three-fifths of the French fleet,[1] both which are at this time adding strength by their continual building at this present day. 9. The money required by the estimates to put the fifty ships into a full repair fit for the sea amounts to about 98,765*l.*, whereof may be abated 17,000*l.* for graving and ordinary repairs if they go not to sea presently. 10. It may not be ill advice to first complete a certain number of ships in every particular fit for service before the great ships are in hand to rebuild, in regard one second or first-rate ship will require more timber and plank than the repair of twenty which are not to be opened. 11. By what appears . . . it will require one summer to put fifty ships which want least into a condition for the seas, and two years to rebuild and repair the twenty ships which want greatest repairs—in all three years, if neither money nor men be wanting to make use of the proper seasons to effect this purpose. 12. His Majesty's yards being thus employed, especially Chatham, it would be of great importance to build by contract five large third-rates a year for four years, which may require 45,000*l.* for the hulls; by this undertaking his Majesty may have a fleet of sufficient strength, it being otherwise very dangerous to want ships, and those already so much out of repair, building being a work of long season, and perhaps materials not in this kingdom to effect what's here proposed without fetching it from foreign parts. It's therefore no small advantage to be early in preparation and foresight. . . .

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[1] But see the figures on p. 46, *infra*. After making all allowances for the difference between strength on paper and effective force at sea, it appears as if Deane must be exaggerating English weakness as compared with Holland or France.

To this report is appended a list of ships needing repair, classified thus:

'To be new built'—Sovereign, Old James, Rainbow, Unicorn, Defiance, Plymouth, Tiger, Richmond, Eagle, Revenge—41,146*l.* 'Wants very great repair'—Triumph, St. George, Mary, Monck, Rotterdam, Happy Return, Princess, Ruby, Success, Bonadventure, Leopard—18,720*l.* 'A list of his Majesty's ships that want least repair'—Royal Charles, Prince, Charles, London, St. Michael, St. Andrew—17,613*l.*; Henry, Katherine, French Ruby, Victory, Cambridge, Dreadnought, Dunkirk, Edgar, Gloucester, Harwich, Henrietta, Lion, Monmouth, Mountagu, Royal Oak, Resolution, Rupert, Swiftsure, Warspite, York—18,997*l.*; Antelope, Adventure, Advice, Assistance, Assurance, Bristol, Centurion, Crown, Constant Warwick, Diamond, Dover, St. David, Dragon, Falcon, Foresight, Greenwich, Hampshire, Jersey, Mary Rose, Newcastle, Nonsuch, Oxford, Portsmouth, Portland, Reserve, Swallow, Sweepstakes, Stavoreen, Yarmouth, Phœnix—15,348*l.*

It was not long before the problem thus stated by Deane for the benefit of the lord treasurer was discussed by parliament. In spite of the peace with Holland, the needs of the navy attracted a good deal of attention in the year 1675. On 22 April Mr. Pepys was ordered to 'bring into the House a true state of the present condition of the navy, and of the stores and provisions thereof,'[1] and in pursuance of this order a number of papers were presented to the Commons on Saturday, 24 April.[2] From these it appeared that on paper the naval force of the nation consisted of eight first-rates, nine second-rates, twenty-two third-rates, thirty-seven fourth-rates, sixteen fifth-rates, and eight sixth-rates, with fifty-one smaller vessels of various kinds, fourteen of which were yachts. But this was followed by an instructive comparison with foreign fleets, in which 'his Majesty's fleet as the same stands this 24 April, 1675, consisting of men-of-war (carrying from twenty guns upwards) and fire-ships,' was brought into relation with the same figures for France and Holland, taken from the lists of 1673.[3]

Ships	English	French	Dutch[4]
Of 100 guns and upwards . .	7	4	—
„ 90 „ under 100 .	2	2	—
„ 80 „ „ 90 .	2	2	10
„ 70 „ „ 80 .	7	14	24
„ 60 „ „ 70 .	18	12	24
„ 50 „ „ 60 .	22	25	28
„ 40 „ „ 50 .	19	26	22
„ 30 „ „ 40 .	10	9	24
„ 20 „ „ 30 .	5	2	4
Total	92	96	136
Fire-ships	3	4	40
	Men-of-war	Fire-ships	
French excess	4	1	—
Dutch „	44	37	—

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, v. 185. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.* v. 198.

[4] The Dutch built no very large ships, on account of 'their scantiness of water' (*ib.* ii. 455).

In the report which contained these disturbing comparisons Pepys represented that to complete the ships now building, to put all the king's ships 'into a full repair fit for the sea,' and to complete certain repairs and improvements at the dockyards, would require 144,016*l.* A little later, in a letter to the treasurer of the navy, dated 19 June, 1675, he supplemented this estimate, which was based on a survey of 2 December, 1674 :[1]—

> (1) For the enabling the officers of the navy to proceed upon the repair of the fleet, and saving the season for providing and bringing in of materials towards the same (through the want whereof they are said to be at this day at an almost total stop therein), the charge whereof is estimated, and was so represented to the parliament, at 144,016*l.* (2) Towards the providing of materials and stores for the magazine required for maintaining the whole fleet when repaired for eight months' sea service, estimated and likewise represented to the parliament at 95,083*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* (3) For the providing of stores to be lodged at Malta for answering the wants of the fleet under Sir John Narbrough, estimated at 4,712*l.* To these three particulars, which his Majesty was pleased to commit to your soliciting my lord treasurer about this day sevennight, there are added, upon discourse had thereon by my lords of the admiralty with the officers of the navy this day :—(4) The making good 16,000*l.* by them said to be yet in arrear upon their assignations on the assessments. (5) The payment off of the St David, newly come home from the Barbados. (6) The enabling the officers of the navy to pay themselves their own salaries.

The result of these representations was that in October 1675 a sum of 300,000*l.* was granted to build twenty ships,[2] the number which had been suggested by Sir Anthony Deane.[3] It is probable that this was mainly intended to meet the increase in the French fleet. In the debate on the disposal of the money, Pepys made a speech in which he defended the naval administration from the charge of mismanagement.[1] In consequence of the conditions attached to this grant by the Commons it was not accepted by the king, and thus the whole question came up again in February 1676–7, after the fourteen months' prorogation. By this time the official demand had risen, and it was urged in the House that it would be better to take in hand at once the construction of thirty new ships.[2] This was the occasion of another parliamentary effort on the part of the secretary to the admiralty. The substance of it is reported in Grey's *Debates*,[3] but there is a manuscript among the Pepysian *Miscellanies*[4] which contains what appears to be a copy of notes for this or some other speech, and although these have no close resemblance to the report and must stand only for what the orator intended to say, even an undelivered speech by Pepys on naval topics has a special interest of its own.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iv. 147.

[2] *Commons Journals*, ix. 362, 369.

[3] See p. 45, *supra.*

The speech was intended to deal largely in technicalities, but for the sake of clearness it was to be divided methodically under thirteen heads. Under the head 'Comparison of the first and second-rate ships, and usefulness of three-deck ships, and consequently those two rates above the third-rate, and all three above the fourth-rates, and why more ships to be built,' Pepys was prepared to urge the necessity of a reserve of ships, 'which . . . the present fleet will not bear. . . .' 'Our neighbour's force,' he said, is 'now greater than ours, and they will still be building more, so that we are as well to overtake them for the time past as to keep pace with them in the present building.' What should be the rate of the new ships? Second-rates need fewer men, less draught of water, and a smaller weight of ordnance and ammunition than first-rates, but having three decks they are 'as terrible to the enemy,' since they are 'as lofty,' and so 'playing down upon them.' 'First-rates we must have, though not in reference to the Dutch, who can't nor do build three-deck ships, as requiring too great draught of water for their ports ; yet against the French, who can build as big as he will, and has bigger than we, his ports enduring it better than ours.' First-rates also 'will bear shot, and therefore stand against an enemy's battery and batter better than any other.' But on the whole Pepys appears to incline to building three-deck ships of the second rate. More fourth-rates were quite unnecessary. They 'serve now only for convoys (which the fifth-rates for the most part can do), and to fight against the Turks . . . so that the 36 fourth-rates we have are fully as many or more than necessary. Besides that they are at any time soon run up, and their want supplied by merchant ships.' From this important question of policy in building the orator passes to questions of a highly technical kind—'why the difference of price, &c., [is] greater between a third-rate and a second than a second-rate and a first-rate,' and 'workmen, time, places, and materials for building ships of the first, second, and third rates.' Under this latter head Pepys notes that scarcity of timber which had already given trouble to naval administrators, and which was to lead to the new ships being built for the most part with foreign timber. 'It is Sir Anthony Deane's judgment,' he writes, 'all the king's forests, and private men's timber within twenty miles of his Majesty's yards and river of Thames, will not afford compass timber, knees, standards, breast hooks, &c., to build two first-rates and six second-rates in four years ; for straight timber, it may be had to do it in two years, if private persons will let it be felled when occasion [requires] ; besides the first and second-rates above mentioned I conceive it very difficult, if not impossible, to find compass timber, knees, standards, stems, harpins, &c., to build twenty third-rates in four years, stripping all the forests and gentlemen's timber within twenty miles of any land or water carriage or navigable place of England; for straight timber, if the gentlemen will fell, I suppose there may be as much got in four years as to complete the said work.'[1] Pepys also urges 'our building ships more burdensome, stronger, and giving them more breadth.' The advantages of this would be that it would prevent the necessity for girdling ; 'make them bear sail better, our great ships being generally crank-sided ;' 'make them carry their guns better —that is, higher—our great ships failing therein,' especially in bad weather ; enable them to carry made masts, which would not be so easily carried overboard under fire ; enable them 'to carry more timber and thicker sides,' less easily penetrated by shot ; give room for more victuals and stores ; and carry the heavier guns that are now cast. To enforce his argument under this head Pepys brings into comparison one or two of the principal French and Dutch ships.

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[1] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, iv. 774.

[2] Ranke, iv. 29.

[3] iv. 115.

[4] 'Heads for a Discourse in Parliament upon the business of the Navy, Anno 1676' (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 453).

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[1] On the scarcity of timber in England see Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 207, note 2, and p. 213. 'We have suffered ourselves to come to want of our own growth almost everything that goes to the building and equipping of a ship,' writes Pepys in his *Naval Minutes* (p. 81), '. . . whereas a naval nation that could have done it ought to have encouraged the having everything within itself.' So far was he impressed with the importance of this policy in regard to timber, that there is among the Pepysian papers (*Miscellanies*, ii. 541) a draft bill for the preservation and increase of timber, 'prepared by Mr. Freeman' and 'drawn by the joint care of the company of shipwrights, at the instance of Mr. Pepys, *anno* 1675.' An Act passed in 1667-8 (19 and 20 Car. II, c. 8) 'for the Increase and Preservation of Timber within the Forest of Dean' had alluded in the preamble to the 'apparent scarcity of timber there, as in all other parts of this kingdom, so that some course is necessary to be speedily taken to restore and preserve the growth of timber for the future supply of his Majesty's royal navy, and the maintenance of shipping for the trade of this nation,' and the scheme of 1675 was intended to carry this out. The proposed bill attributed the need for legislation to the 'spoils, wastes, and great destruction that hath of late years been made of wood and timber within this nation,' and in particular to the 'unnecessary waste' of wood in London and Westminster and other towns 'that might have been built of brick or stone.' In this connexion it is curious to find Sir William Petty two years later (1677) in his *Political Arithmetic* declining to regard the 'decay of timber' in England as an evil because its place can be supplied by foreign commodities, and instancing 'the rebuilding of London, and of the ships wasted by the Dutch war,' to prove it 'no very formidable thing' (Arber, *English Garner*, vi. 370). The clauses of the draft bill provided (1) that all 'forests, chases, parks, manors, woods, wastes, or lands,' whether belonging to the king or private owners, should be under the regulation of the forest laws and the statutes passed for the preservation of wood and timber. (2) No trees to be cut down which 'carry not some apparent mark of decay,' and where trees are felled for the king's use 'other thriving trees' to be planted. (3) At the 'first felling of any coppice' 'twelve standells of oak, ash, elm, or beech' to be left on every acre, and so at the second and third fellings, 'all which 36 standells or trees shall be preserved for timber to the growth of 100 years at least upon thriving grounds, and upon other grounds longer;' and upon the 'felling and cutting down of trees thus formerly preserved' not more than 20 to the 100 of decaying trees, and 10 to the 100 'respecting the whole number of those that are yet flourishing and of thriving condition at any one felling,' and their places to be filled by fresh planting, or the reserving of an equivalent number of standells at the next

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felling. This was to be enforced under penalties. (4) Any one making 'any fall or sale of timber' shall give notice in writing of the place, quality, number, and quantity to 'the commissioners or supervisors of the woods for the time being' three months beforehand ; and the officers of the navy are to have the right of pre-emption for the use of the navy at reasonable rates. And no such felling or sale of timber shall take place within 20 miles of the sea or any navigable river until it is certified by the commissioners of woods to be 'of sufficient growth for the use of shipping.' (5) 'No person whatsoever shall lop or cut off the head, principal boughs, or branches of any timber trees, especially of oak, elm, ash, or beech, for browse, firewood, or any other use, nor space out, chip, bark, or girt the bodies of any such trees or plants, but only of such trees as have been pollards, dottards, old, unsound, and knotty trees, not fit for any other use,' under penalty of fine at pleasure by the commissioners of woods, or in default corporal punishment, inflicted by order of the nearest justice of the peace. (6) All coppices appointed 'for the planting, increase, and growth of timber' to be fenced in 'immediately after such felling, and so kept fenced and preserved free from all kind of cattle for the space of nine years,' under penalties, with a provision for double or treble penalties for wanton waste or neglect. (7) All persons that have 100 acres of 'land of inheritance' shall have five acres of the same 'of coppice or wood-land,' and those who already have more than this proportion are to be required to preserve it all. (8) Fit persons are to be nominated by the king in council as commissioners and supervisors to execute the Act.

The replanting of the kingdom seems to have been accomplished without such stringent legislation. Evelyn's writings on forest trees suggested a remedy, and very large quantities of English timber were produced for the navy during the latter part of the eighteenth century, which was chiefly supplied by plantations made between the Restoration and the end of the seventeenth century (Derrick, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*, p. 77).

The Tonnage of Four French Ships of War

—	Keel	Breadth	Tonnage
Soll Royall	—	—	1,940
Royall Lewis	—	—	1,800
La Royna	140	48·4	1,764
Roy Tereas	140	48	1,715

Four Dutch Ships of War

White Elephant	3 decks .	131	46·9	1,482
Golden Lion		130	46·9	1,477
Seven Provinces	2 decks .	—	—	1,341
Great Hollandia		—	—	1,335

Draught of water, 19 feet 8 inches.

English Ships

Royal Charles, with the girdling of 10 inches measure .	1,531
The Prince is full as big now girdled, and as long on the gun deck as the Charles, but having a long rake they measure short on the keel, or she would be .	1,520

The Dutch ships have a great rake afore, or else they would measure bigger, being of good breadths. The capital French and Dutch ships with two decks are more in number and much larger than our third-rates considerable, and therefore require large if any be built.

On the important question 'about the rates and fruits of building ships by the king and by contract' Pepys pronounces definitely, as John Hollond had done before him,[1] in favour of building by the state. It is profitable to the contractor, who 'must live by his skill and labour,' 'to build slight;' 'the king works with better materials, and works stronger.' 'In the king's yards there is one use or other for all materials that is left, whereas the contract-builder must buy no more than just the ships in building useth, it lying dead upon his hands.' From this and other technical questions of administration Pepys passes to 'the king's love for the navy.' 'The king hath outbuilt manifold the proposal of the council board itself in the project of 200,000*l.* per annum.[1] The king and duke contrivers for the building of ships by tacit engaging my lord treasurer into the beginning of ships in dependence upon the carrying of it on when begun, and this sometimes against the advice even of the navy officers, when they have contemplated the loss of ships lying long in hand. King and duke more active in person than any private man.' In his notes Pepys does not seem to have appreciated the possibilities of this head for the purpose of a peroration, for his eloquence finally loses itself in a sandy disquisition on the question why the Forest of Dean is 'no fit place to build ships at.'

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[1] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 35.

The adoption of the scheme for the thirty new ships Pepys was modest enough to attribute chiefly to the impression produced by his own speech in the House. 'I doubt not,' he writes on 23 February, 1676–7, to the navy board,[2] 'but ere this you may have heard the issue of this morning's debates in the House of Commons touching the navy, wherein I thank God the account they received from me of the past and present state thereof, compared first with one another and then with the naval force of our neighbours as it now is, different from what it ever heretofore has been, was so received as that the debates arising therefrom terminated in a vote for the supplying his Majesty with a sum of money for building ships not exceeding 600,000*l.*' [3] Pepys then informs the board that he had also laid before parliament ('in the most intelligible manner, I thought, to that assembly') the 'present ill condition of the old fleet,' which would require 300,000*l.* to repair it, fit it for sea, and form a magazine of stores as a reserve. He also suggests to them that, in view of a probable rise in 'the price of all things, both labour and commodities,' in consequence of 'so great an undertaking,' they should compile a record of 'the present prices and rates of all sorts of materials and workmanship, freight, carriage, and other heads of expense, both foreign and domestic,' to serve as 'vouchers on behalf of his Majesty's conduct and yours, in case by any excessive increases of price or otherwise the charge of building these ships should arise beyond what the same is now reasonably to be judged.'[1] In a later letter, of 16 April, 1677, to Sir John Tippetts, the surveyor of the navy,[2] Pepys refers to 'the many difficulties' which the grant of the 600,000*l.* had met with, 'particularly that . . . arising from the differences between the two Houses about it,' 'even to the rendering me then very distrustful of the success of the bill;' but he is now able, after all, to communicate to this correspondent the news that 'the bill (blessed be God) is . . . passed this night by the king.' The surveyor is therefore at liberty to begin at once his journey towards Shoreham with Sir Richard Haddock, 'for the surveying that place, and considering how far the same is capable of being rendered a place fit for the building a third-rate ship, his Majesty being very desirous to increase the number of building places as much as may be, as well out of the considerations of having thereby the more room at home for continuing our repair of the old ships, together with the building new, the prospect of the condition wherein matters are likely to stand between us and France rendering the despatch of our repairs no less indispensable than that of our new building. . . . The king and his Royal Highness are extremely importunate that not an hour's time be lost that may be saved in our preparations for each of these matters.'

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[1] See p. 104, *infra.*

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, v. 345.

[3] The Act is 29 Car. II, c. i. (§§ 35 and 36). In the preamble the Commons describe themselves as 'highly sensible how necessary the increase of your Majesty's naval force is at this time for the defence of this your realm, and for the preservation of your Majesty's ancient and undoubted right unto and dominion over the Narrow Seas.' The rates and tonnage of the thirty ships thus provided for are specified in the Act itself.

This disposition to push forward naval preparations was abundantly justified by the events of the next year.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, v. 347.

[2] *Ib.* v. 380.

In February 1678 England, in alliance with Holland, appeared to be on the eve of war with France, and the king's new anti-French policy was eagerly supported by parliament.[1] The decision was taken to equip a fleet of ninety ships, and the imposition of a poll tax was agreed to for military and naval preparations. The Pepysian papers contain several allusions to these proceedings, and among them estimates of the naval strength of France about this time, which may be tabulated thus:[2]—

A List of the Fleet of France presented to Monsieur Colbert, 1677

Rate	Number	Guns	—
1st	12	1,230	The 30 galleys carried 1,470 mariners, 2,580 officers and soldiers, and 6,300 slaves. Their annual charge was 15,600*l.*
2nd	17	1,338	
3rd	56[3]	3,570	
4th	43	1,964	
5th	30	1,016	
6th	21	266	
Galleys	30	—	
Total .	209[4]	9,384	

A Particular List of the Seamen, Bargemen, Fishermen, and Watermen in every Province of France

Province	No. of Men	Province	No. of Men
Flemish Coast .	1,083	Saintonge . .	1,611
Picardy . . .	2,311	D'Arcachon . .	1,899
Normandy . .	18,922	Guienne . . .	4,609
Brittany . . .	17,132	Roussillon . .	1,886
Poitou . . .	2,679	Languedoc . .	9,703
Coast of Daunix [Aunis] . .	11,905	Provence . .	17,999
		River boatmen .	5,670

The total is given in the manuscript as 103,876, of whom 47,596 were coast fishermen, 10,274 bargemen, lightermen, and watermen employed on rivers, leaving 46,006 able mariners.

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[1] Ranke, *History of England*, iv. 42.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, v. 271–81.

[3] Pepys gives this figure as 57, but he has counted 'the Nonsuch or le Sanspareil' as two ships.

[4] As this total only includes 17 ships under 20 guns, the discre-

The foregoing facts appear to justify the conclusion that in its general conception the naval policy of the period 1673–1679 was energetic and effective. But the grant in parliament for building and equipping the thirty new ships did not affect arrears, nor does it seem to have improved the king's credit. Thus the want of money, which troubled the navy at the beginning of the period under consideration, was affecting it quite at the end. During the last six months of his secretaryship in particular, the anxieties of Pepys on the score of funds seem to have thickened round him. On 11 January, 1678–9, he refers to 'the great debts due at this day upon the score of sick men' presented to the king and the lords of the admiralty, and adds, 'I do hope in God some provision will be shortly made for the relief thereof.'[1] On 26 February he again alludes to the 'difficulties' the king 'is now under in his treasure.'[2] On 6 March he recurs to the victualling. 'Extremely afflicted I am,' he writes to Sir R. Robinson,[3] 'to observe the frequent notice you have of late taken to me of the delays wherewith his Majesty's ships are supplied by the victuallers, an evil which, however they may think themselves justifiable in from those failures of payment which they say (I know not how truly) they lie under, I am sure the whole service must perish, if by one means or other it be not effectually remedied.' 'I fear in matters of money,' he writes in another place,[4] 'my assistance will go but a very little way, that being a business which at this time (God knows) moves everywhere very slow, and particularly in the navy.' Allusions of this kind occur right down to the close of his term of office,[5] and in his last letter addressed to the navy board on ordinary business, written 14 May, 1679, only three days before he informed them of

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pancy between this estimate of 1677 and that of 1673, given on p. 46, *supra*, would appear too large to be accounted for by four years' shipbuilding.

[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 21.

[2] *Ib.* ix. 86. [3] *Ib.* ix. 108. [4] *Ib.* ix. 116 (8 March, 1678–9).

[5] *Ib.* ix. 160, 212, 219, 270.

his resignation, he refers to the 'little appearance of the sum of money that has been so long wanting, and now grows daily more and more so, for the payment of arrears of wages to seamen, and easing his Majesty of the great part of growing charge lying upon him.'[1]

But Pepys's first secretaryship of the admiralty was now drawing near its close, for in May 1679 he was driven from office during the excitement occasioned by the Popish plot. In the last letter of his secretaryship, dated 21 May,[2] he alludes to the 'reproach' which he is 'no less unjustly than unfortunately fallen under in parliament,' but ascribes it to a charge of misappropriating navy stores. Meanwhile other charges were being made against him, and on the following day he was committed to the Tower under the speaker's warrant, and Hayter succeeded to his office at the admiralty, which was vacant through what was in form a voluntary resignation.[3]

1679–1684.—On the withdrawal of the Duke of York and the resignation of Pepys, the higher administration of the navy passed to a new commission, consisting of Sir Henry Capel, Daniel Finch, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Humphrey Winch, Sir Thomas Meres, Edward Vaughan, and Edward Hales.[4] The powers conferred upon them were at first to be the same as those enjoyed by Prince Rupert and his colleagues,[5] but Pepys tells us of a change of plan. 'The gentlemen above mentioned,' he writes,[6] 'being . . . dissatisfied with the limitations of power under which the last commissioners acted, reserving several parts thereof to his Majesty's own execution, did insist upon having their commission to run in the fullest terms of any lord high admiral, and, after several conflicts therein with his Majesty, obtained the same in a commission of their own drawing, bearing date 14 May, 1679.' Two copies of the commission occur among the naval papers in the Pepysian Library.[1] During its five years' term of office this administration underwent several changes.[2] On the resignation of Capel, Lee, and Vaughan, the commission was renewed under date 19 February, 1680–1, Lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Littleton being appointed in their places. On Littleton's death it was renewed again (20 January, 1681–2), Sir John Chicheley and Henry Savile being added. It was renewed a third time on 22 August, 1683, in order to add Rear-Admiral Arthur Herbert as a supernumerary commissioner without salary. Last of all, on the death of Lord Brouncker, Herbert became an ordinary commissioner (17 April, 1684), and Lord Vaughan, son-in-law of the Marquis of Halifax, was added as a supernumerary in Herbert's place. The tenure of the last-named was very brief, for on 19 May, 1684, the commission was revoked by letters patent and the king himself resumed the office of lord high admiral, 'committing (as heretofore) the inspection thereof' to the Duke of York, 'then newly recalled home.'[3] By letters patent under the Great Seal dated 10 June Pepys was reappointed to the office of secretary.[4]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 275.

[2] *Ib.* ix. 284.

[3] *Ib.* ix. 282. An account of some circumstances connected with this episode in Pepys's life has been given by the Editor of this volume in an article contributed to the *English Historical Review* for April 1892, vii. 281, under the title 'Pepys and the Popish Plot.'

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 413.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 409. See p. 36, *supra*.

[6] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 411.

The new government seems to have been almost entirely without naval experience. Capel, the first commissioner, had nothing to do with the navy until his appointment.[5] The same can be said of Finch, who, though he became famous as Earl of Nottingham, was at this time only a young politician just beginning his official life.[6] Sir Thomas Lee's reputation was that of a parliamentary debater;[1] and the other names are not notable. The introduction of Lord Brouncker in 1681 was a step in the right direction, although he was not a professional seaman.[2] The changes of 1682 were of greater importance, but they came too late. Savile was only a diplomatist with a predilection for the sea,[3] but Sir John Chicheley was a practical seaman who had served with distinction in the Dutch wars, and had had five years' experience on the navy board.[4]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 236, and *Miscellanies*, ii. 413.

[2] See Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 224–5.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 224.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *D. N. B.* ix. 17.

[6] *D. N. B.* xix. 1.

On this last body the experts were much more strongly represented. In 1681[5] Lord Falkland succeeded Sir Edward Seymour as treasurer of the navy. He was found guilty in 1693 of 'indirect practices' and peculation when first commissioner of the admiralty,[6] so the change was not, in all probability, to the advantage of the navy. In 1680[7] Thos. Hayter, who had succeeded Pepys as secretary to the admiralty,[8] became comptroller in place of Sir Thomas Allin, his place as secretary being taken by John Brisbane.[9] Hayter was himself succeeded in 1682[10] by Sir Richard Haddock, who held office (subject to the changes of 1686) until his death in 1715.[11] Hayter continued, however, to hold office as 'assistant' to the comptroller,[12] although he occupied a subordinate position and was not a commissioner of the navy.[13] The office of surveyor continued during the period in the hands of Sir John Tippetts, while on the promotion of Hayter to be secretary to the admiralty in 1679, his colleague James Sotherne, who had held the office jointly with him since 1677, remained clerk of the acts.[1] The comptrollerships of the victualling and stores continued in good hands. The former until 1680 was held by Sir Anthony Deane, who was then succeeded by Sir John Narbrough.[2] The latter was revived in 1680, after a lapse of four years, for Sir Anthony Deane,[3] and on his resignation after three months' tenure of office, it passed to Phineas Pett.[4] Sir Richard Beach was transferred from Chatham to be commissioner at Portsmouth, and was succeeded at Chatham by John Godwin, an official of no particular importance, though the fact that he was chosen by James II for the Special Commission of 1686 would seem to show that he was at least efficient.[5]

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[1] *D. N. B.* xxxii. 383. [2] See p. 13, *supra.* [3] *D. N. B.* l. 370.

[4] *D. N. B.* x. 231.

[5] The patent was dated 13 June, 1681 (Duckett, p. 32).

[6] Duckett, p. 76.

[7] The patent was dated 28 Jan. 1679–80, and he was paid from 26 March, 1680 (*ib.* pp. 32–3).

[8] See p. 57, *supra.* [9] Pipe Office Declared Accounts.

[10] The patent was dated 2 Feb. 1681–2, and he was paid from 26 March, 1682 (*Patent Rolls*, 34 *Car. II*, pt. ii. [No. 12].

[11] *D. N. B.* xxiii. 428.

[12] The patent is dated 22 Feb. 1681–2 (Duckett, *Naval Commissioners*, p. 6). His salary was 400*l.* a year (Pipe Office Declared Accounts).

[13] See p. 79 note 2, *infra.*

Whatever he may have thought of the navy board, the commissioners of the admiralty did not find a lenient critic in Pepys. 'No king,' he wrote,[6] 'ever did so unaccountable thing to oblige his people by, as to dissolve a commission of the admiralty then in his own hand, who best understands the business of the sea of any prince the world ever had, and things never better done, and put it into hands which he knew were wholly ignorant thereof, sporting himself with their ignorance.' The last phrase brings before us vividly the king's characteristic way. The result that followed was inevitable. The effective force at sea was reduced; the ships in harbour were allowed to fall out of repair; waste and neglect appeared in every department of the administration. After a visit paid to Woolwich and Deptford at the end of the fourth year of the new commission, on the occasion of the launching of the Neptune at Deptford (27 April, 1683), Pepys notes in his minute-book [1] that he, Sir Anthony Deane, and W. Hewer were, 'to our great confusion and sorrow, eye-witnesses of the great emptiness of those yards as to all out-stores, several hundred of workmen standing still every day therein without any other service done by them than coming to their daily calls, for want of materials to employ them on.' This disorganisation in the yards helps to explain the comparison which Pepys makes in his published *Memoirs* between the navy as it was when he left it in 1679, and the navy as it was when he came back to it in 1684. In April 1679, we are there told,[2] there was a fleet of 76 ships in sea pay, with 12,040 men. It was made up of one first-rate, 3 seconds, 15 thirds, 30 fourths, 12 fifths, 7 sixths, and 8 fire-ships. 'The whole residue of the king's repairable ships were . . . reported . . . in a condition of being thoroughly fitted for the sea and furnished with sea stores for 50,000*l.*;' 'a further reserve remained untouched in magazine to the value of threescore thousand pounds;' 'lastly, a force additional to all this of thirty capital ships was then actually in building.' At the close of the commission in May 1684 [3] there were 24 ships at sea, of the fourth, fifth, and sixth rates (12, 5, and 5 respectively), with 2 fire-ships; these were manned by 3,070 men. 'The remainder of the navy in harbour so far out of repair as to have had the charge of that alone (without sea-stores) estimated just before . . . at no less than 120,000*l.* And towards this a magazine of stores, as lately reported . . . not to amount to 5,000*l.*' After making every allowance for Pepys's not unnatural prejudice against those who had displaced him, the facts and figures are a sufficient condemnation, and, as Macaulay points out,[1] the report of Pepys was confirmed by an expert from the French admiralty.[2] It is not surprising to find Pepys [3] giving as the reason for the revocation of the commission in 1684, 'the deplorable state into which both the discipline and strength' of the navy 'was then brought' by the ignorance and inexperience of the administration.

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[1] Duckett, p. 31.

[2] Narbrough's patent was dated 29 April, 1680 (Duckett, p. 32).

[3] The patent was dated 23 June, 1680 (*ib.*).

[4] Pett's patent was dated 17 Sept. 1680, but he was paid from 25 June (*ib.* p. 32). He was knighted on his appointment (*ib.* p. 106).

[5] See pp. 73 and 80, *infra.* Beach was transferred 21 Oct. 1679. His patent at Portsmouth is dated 28 Oct. Godwin's patent at Chatham is dated 11 Dec. 1679; the office during the six weeks' interval having been held by Sir John Kempthorne, but he never came to Chatham, although he was paid to 25 Dec. (Duckett, pp. 30–33).

[6] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 76.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 214.

[2] *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England*, p. 6.

[3] *Ib.* p. 14.

The zeal of the new commission for economy soon manifested itself in a 'Letter of Retrenchment' addressed to the navy board under date 29 December, 1679, which is to be found among the Pepysian papers.[4] The principal changes ordered were: (1) The reduction of the navy board to nine persons, by 'laying aside' Lord Brouncker, Sir John Werden, and Sir John Chicheley, and 'by adding to the person employed in comptrolling pays, &c., the work of comptrolling the accounts of the treasurer of the navy . . . and by adding to the person employed in comptrolling the victualling accounts the work of comptrolling the accounts of stores also.' (2) A reduction in the number of clerks allowed to the comptrollers' departments, and the abolition of the allowance of 800*l.* a year to the treasurer of the navy for his clerks. (3) The abolition of the offices of counsellor at law and his solicitor, deputy judge advocate, and muster-masters at Gravesend and Deal. The office of purveyor of petty emptions was also abolished, and his duties were attached, without any additional salary, to the office of the clerk of the acts. The allowance of 200*l.*, paid for auditing the accounts of the sick and wounded, was discontinued, and the duties given to the chief clerk of the ticket office, at a salary of 40*l.* a year. The extraordinary salary of 161*l.* 14*s.* allowed to a 'chirurgeon-general to the navy' was also discontinued. (4) The pensions and allowances to officers out of employment were discontinued for the year 1680. (5) The captains of the five guard-ships at Chatham and Portsmouth were discharged, and the complement of the three ships at Chatham was reduced from 100 to 80 each. (6) The yard at Harwich was to be 'laid aside,' no storekeeper being allowed to it as formerly,[1] but some 'fit person' being appointed at 25*l.* a year to look after the yard and preserve its contents 'from decay and damage.' (7) A reduction in the complements of ships laid up in ordinary, and (8) in the allowances of certain of the dockyard officials. (9) The abolition of the office of clerk of the comptrol in each dockyard, the storekeeper of the yard being required to balance his own accounts.

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[1] *History of England* (Longmans, 2 vols. 1880), i. 146.

[2] By Bonrepaux.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 225.

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 174.

The same desire for retrenchment affected the shipbuilding policy of the new commission, and they did little but what they were obliged to do under the Act of 1677 for thirty new ships. And if Pepys is to be believed they not only built little, but neglected the ships which they already had. He writes of 'the effects of inexperience, daily discovering themselves' in the conduct of the commission;[2] of 'general and habitual supineness, wastefulness, and neglect of order universally spread' through the whole navy.[3] The navy in harbour was out of repair, and the magazines were without stores, so that 'whereas peace used evermore to be improved to the making up the wasteful effects of war, this appears . . . to have brought the navy into a state more deplorable in its ships and less relievable from its stores than can be shown to have happened . . . at the close of the most expenseful war.'[4]

The most serious fact in the situation was the state of the thirty new ships. On 23 August, 1684, Pepys, after his return to office, wrote of a 'melancholy visit' to Chatham to inspect 'the deplorable state they are already in.'[5] Two months later, on 31 October, in a letter to Mr.

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[1] Harwich as a building yard had been paid off in 1668 (see p. 15, *supra*), but Captain Silas Taylor had been storekeeper there, and a certain amount of business was still transacted.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 10.

[3] *Ib.* p. 31.

[4] *Ib.* p. 15.

[5] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 100.

Betts, the master shipwright at Portsmouth, he refers to the fact that it was 'strongly urged by some' that the decay of those ships was due to 'want of care in the choice of their materials, as being built either of East Country goods or doted and decayed English timber.'[1] The result was that on 5 March, 1684–5, Pepys wrote: 'After all the inquiries I have been able to make, and the divers other grounds assigned for this general rot of the new ships, I cannot see it chargeable upon anything in the world but their being ill looked after since they were built.'[2] That this afterwards came to be the official conclusion appears from the *Memoirs*. It was shown that there was no reason to suspect bad results from the use of east country plank,[3] and the use of it in future building was sanctioned by an Order in Council, dated 8 October, 1686.[4] The decay of the ships was rather to be attributed to 'the plain omission of the necessary and ordinary cautions used for the preserving of new-built ships'—want of graving and bringing into dock; neglect to clean and air the holds;[5] exposure 'in hot weather to the sun, broiling in their buttocks and elsewhere for want of cooling with water;' 'planks not opened up on the first discovery of their decays, nor pieces put in where defective.'[6] In other words, the responsibility rested not upon the administration of Pepys during which most of the ships had been laid down, but upon the administration of the commission of 1679–84.

Nor was their neglect of the ships laid up in ordinary the only complaint Pepys had to make against his successors. 'Sir Richard Haddock tells me with great complaint,' he writes in 1682, 'that the establishment of men and guns, which I took so much pains to procure, is now broken into.' [1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 170. [2] *Ib.* p. 371.

[3] *Memoirs*, pp. 62–7, 79; Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 233.

[4] *Memoirs*, pp. 82–5.

[5] 'Till I have with my own hands,' says Pepys, 'gathered toadstools growing in the most considerable of them as big as my fists' (*Memoirs*, p. 87).

[6] *Memoirs*, pp. 86–90.

1684–1688.—The patent revoking the admiralty commission of 1679 is dated 19 May, 1684; [2] and from this date until his death the office of lord high admiral was once more executed by the king, with the advice and assistance of 'his royal brother, the Duke of York.' [3] The office of vice-admiral of England had been already filled, from 13 January, 1682–3, by the appointment of the young Duke of Grafton, who was intended for the sea, in place of 'our late dear cousin, Prince Rupert,' [4] while the appointment of Arthur Herbert as rear-admiral of England, made by the admiralty commissioners 22 January, 1683–4, was confirmed by letters patent, dated 20 February, 1684–5.[5] The reason given in the patent for this appointment was that the 'trade and navigation of this our kingdom of England, the number and value of the merchants' ships thereunto belonging, and likewise the strength of our royal navies and number of our ships of war for the protection and defendance thereof are very much increased during our reign . . . which do therefore require a greater care and the employment of several persons of trust and capacity to govern and command our said navies and ships of war.' The appointment was to continue during pleasure at a salary of 16*s.* per diem, and wages and allowance for twelve men at 10*s.* apiece by the month of twenty-eight days.[6]

Under date 10 June, 1684,[7] the office of 'secretary for the affairs of the admiralty of England' was formally constituted for the first time by letters patent under the Great Seal,[1] and Mr. Pepys was appointed thereto with 'full power and authority to administer an oath to any person or persons concerning any of our affairs of our admiralty of England,' and to discharge all the functions hitherto associated with the less formal office of secretary to the lord high admiral. On the death of Charles II, in February 1685, James II succeeded to the office of lord high admiral, but this did not involve any change in the higher government of the navy, which remained practically unaltered until the changes of 1686 described below.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 201. See also p. 233, *infra.*

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 169.

[3] It is often said that the office of lord high admiral was restored to the duke; but this is clearly not the view of Pepys (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 225).

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 40.

[5] *Ib.* p. 42.

[6] *Ib.* p. 46.

[7] *Ib.* p. 39. Another copy is in Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 1.

The important episode of the period 1684–1688 is the establishment of the special commission of 1686. For this experiment in organisation Pepys himself was largely responsible, and the materials for the history of it are to be found in a manuscript volume in the Pepysian Library, entitled, *My Diary relating to the Commission constituted by King James the Second, Anno* 1686, *for the Recovery of the Navy, with a Collection of the Principal Papers incident to and conclusive of the same.*[2] From this it appears that Pepys almost immediately after his restoration to office undertook an inquiry into the state of the navy 'and the disorders and distresses it had been suffered to fall into' under the commission of 1679–84. The result of this, 'in a book fairly written and sealed up,' he presented to King Charles II on New Year's Day, 1684–5, 'opening to him at the same time the general contents of it for his present satisfaction by discourse. Which, partly from the continued absences of some one or other of the four to whom alone with himself he thought it expedient to have the same communicated, viz. the duke, the Lord Sunderland, Lord Rochester, and Lord Godolphin, and partly from his own sickness soon after following, was all the knowledge he ever had of it, as continuing with him unopened to the day of his death, February the 6th. Within four days after which his royal brother his successor was pleased to betake himself very closely to the thoughts of his navy, and in order thereto to the opening this paper of mine, calling me to the reading one moiety thereof to him alone upon the 10th, the other upon the 12th, and the whole again soon after to himself with my lord treasurer Rochester; taking it (after reading) into his own custody.'[1] The remainder of the year 1685 'was employed in a trial how far the case of his navy might be bettered in the hands of the same officers wherein he found it, with such encouragements, supplies of money, inculcatings from him himself, and visits and assistance from me, as they largely received within that time. But with so little fruit, but rather the contrary, with such plain evidence of its continued declensions and hopelessness of amendment without some general change in its conduct, as rendered it necessary for me to prepare a fresh state thereof for him at the end of this year, as I did for his brother at that of the last, with this difference only, that what I did before in writing was now done by discourse.' This 'discourse' was heard by King James, in company with Lord Treasurer Rochester, on New Year's Day, 1685–6, and Pepys was commanded to put together the heads of it in writing, together with his 'conceptions touching what might be to be done towards the restoring' the navy 'with 400,000*l.* per annum, the sum he had declared his resolution to assign indivertibly to that, and for answering all the standing occasions of it,' together with his 'advice touching the persons fit to be entrusted therewith in the room of the present officers.' This important paper, entitled 'A Memorial and Proposition from the Secretary of the Admiralty touching the Navy,' and bearing date 26 January, 1685–6, was presented to the king (the lord treasurer being present) 'in his new closet' on 29 January, 'where they received it both with extraordinary instances of satisfaction and concurrence.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 226.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490.

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[1] Pp. 2–4.

The 'Memorial' opens with a comparison between the state of the navy in 1679 and 1684,[1] in which the figures given do not differ materially from those already quoted from the *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy*.[2] But we learn the additional fact that whereas in 1679 the whole navy debt was estimated at 305,000*l.*, in 1684 it had increased to 384,000*l.*[3] Next follows an account of the state of the navy at 'this present day,[4] when after a year and a half run since the return of the navy into your Majesty's own hand, with all means applied (by money, materials, workmen, and otherwise) to the exciting and enabling your officers to the exercise of their utmost diligence towards the restoring the fleet of England to a condition of service and honour, the true state thereof upon the last of December . . . was sunk to this:' (1) Though the whole repairs of the hulls of the ships in harbour had been estimated 'a year and a half since' at 120,000*l.*, 'there has within that time been actually, and (for aught I can discover) unaccountably, spent thereon in materials and wages above 92,000*l.*; and yet the same sum still asked for finishing the work which was demanded for it before one farthing of this 92,000*l.* was laid out.' (2) Not a quarter of the ships graved which had been undertaken for and for which money had been supplied. (3) Several of the thirty new ships reported 'near two years since to lie ready to sink at their moorings' not yet repaired, though money had been supplied for this purpose. (4) 'The stores of the greatest moment' (such as cables, sails, &c.) belonging to these thirty ships 'appear at this day so much wanting (either by decay or their being . . . diverted to other services) as not to leave any one of them (were they otherwise in condition for it) furnished with stores sufficient for their being sent to sea.' (5) 'Twice as much time is now required for fitting out 42 ships (and that in no wise to be depended on neither) as was asked a year and a half since for 55.' (6) 'But one fourth-rate and never a fifth, lately reported to be in condition of being sent abroad upon an emergency in less than two months, without borrowing from the harbour guard.' (7) No provision of long timber or plank 'towards answering the most pressing works of the growing year,' although the greater part of the money for this purpose had been actually supplied. (8) Great delay in finishing the two docks 'in building, and now so much wanting at Chatham.' (9) Further delay expected in completing the repairs of the fleet. 'In a word, after the utmost effects of the methods now used in the navy, assisted by money and workmen to the full of their demands[1] (there having not been fewer than 1,000 at any one time in pay in your yards since your resumption of the navy), it is most manifest that not only the decays of your fleet do grow upon your officers' hands faster than their cure, but that should no other course be taken from henceforward than has hitherto been, those decays . . . will not (if ever) be completed in less than five years yet to come.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 81.

[2] See p. 61, *supra*. The number of ships actually at sea in 1679 is given as 90 instead of 76 (p. 83), but the discrepancy could be explained in several ways.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 86.

[4] It was evidently from this 'Memorial' that pp. 23-8 of the *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy* were compiled.

The suggestions that Pepys had to make for the remedy of the chargeableness of the navy are contained in a 'Proposition' which was afterwards extracted from the manuscript under consideration, and printed by him in a revised form as a separate document in his *Memoirs relating*

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[1] In July 1685 the navy board asked for 400 additional men for repairing the ships, and 105 extra house carpenters and labourers 'for despatching of the works now in hand upon the dry dock at Woolwich and double dry one at Portsmouth' (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xi. 186–7). The 105 labourers were granted (p. 214), but Pepys thought the 400 'wholly unnecessary' (p. 273). Whether they were granted or not does not appear.

to the State of the Royal Navy.[1] With 400,000*l.* per annum, 'supplied by 100,000*l.* within each quarter, and in a known and certain order of payments,' the king might 'expect the effects following:' (1) The whole ordinary charge of the navy on shore and in harbour to be fully defrayed, and the hulls of the ships kept in repair—being graved 'by one-third in every year'—as also the charges for ground tackle, and for repairs to offices, storehouses, wharves, cranes, and quays. (2) The 'extraordinary decays under which the body of your fleet now in harbour labours, to be fully repaired, and the three new fourth-rates finished before the end of the year 1688.' (3) 'Your ships, as fast as repaired and fitted in their hulls, to be in like manner completely supplied with six months' sea-stores, and those separately laid up and preserved for use, whenever the service of their respective ships shall call for them.' (4) For the present year 'instead of the three small ships assigned . . . to your whole Channel guard, manned but with 275 men,' the king was to have 'a squadron of no less than ten ships, consisting of one third, four fourth, three fifth, and two sixth rates, manned with no less than 1,310 men, besides yachts.' (5) A provision was to be made of 'nimble and less chargeable frigates' to supply the present want of them, at the rate of two a year. Pepys added his opinion that the ships at sea might be put into full repair and supplied with six months' sea stores, and they and the whole navy 'kept for ever so,' or new ones built as they become unrepairable—'without other charge to the king than what arises from the allowance ordinarily made for wear and tear, rated but at 22*s.* per man a month' instead of 'the 30*s.* which it has ever hitherto been estimated at, but never proved to have cost so little.'

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[1] The quotations here given follow the manuscript in the form in which the memorial was actually presented to the king (pp. 93–102). Another copy of the 'Proposition' occurs in the same manuscript volume in the form in which it was transcribed for the use of Sir Anthony Deane and his colleagues (p. 219), and it is this form that is given almost exactly in the printed *Memoirs* (pp. 33–41). The variations are not important.

Further details concerning the exact distribution of the 400,000*l.* a year for three years are given in another paper appended to the 'Memorial'[1] entitled 'Measures supporting my Proposition.' From this we learn the following particulars:—

	£	£
1. Repairing ships in harbour		
at Chatham and Sheerness	67,492	
at Portsmouth	34,222	
at Deptford	20,351	
at Woolwich	10,958	133,023
2. Furnishing these ships with rigging, ground tackle, two suits of sails, and six months' boatswain's and carpenter's sea stores:		
for 29 of the 30 new ships	40,567	
for the old ships	47,943	88,510
3. Works and allowances mentioned in the ordinary estimate of the navy for 1685 amounting to 125,418*l.*, which for three years comes to		376,254
4. Wages, victuals, and wear and tear of 4,200 men, 'to be employed the year round at 4*l.* a man a month for thirteen months and one day' (for three years)		657,000
5. Building and equipping two new 4th-rates each year (for three years)		36,000
		1,290,787

'which 1,290,787*l.*,' remarks Pepys, 'exceeds the Proposition of 400,000*l.* per annum for three years by 90,787*l.*, but is reasonably hoped and relied on may be saved by good management, assisted by punctuality of payments.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 123.

The 'Proposition' was approved as practicable by the special commission of 1686 when it came to be appointed,[1] and on 30 March, 1686, a statement to that effect was signed by six of its members: Sir Anthony Deane, Sir John Narbrough, Sir John Berry, Sir Phineas Pett, Mr. Hewer, and Mr. St. Michel.[2] But a paper of 15 April, 1686,[3] shows that it was afterwards found necessary to supplement it by additional estimates for certain permanent works described as 'indispensable.' Thus 6,095*l.* was to be spent on a new storehouse and wharf at Chatham, 5,985*l.* on a similar storehouse and wharf at Portsmouth, 6,198*l.* on a single dry dock for second-rates at Portsmouth, and 4,300*l.* upon finishing docks at Chatham and Deptford. The total amount of these estimates was 23,081*l.*

The 'Memorial' then proceeds[4] to discuss the persons best fitted for the king's service 'on this great occasion.' The method is cumbrous, for Pepys begins by drawing up a list of necessary qualifications 'indispensably required in those to whom your Majesty shall commit the execution of this trust.' These are printed in the *Memoirs*,[5] and need not be repeated here. As regards the number to be employed Pepys does not propose any increase. The navy board at present consists of nine persons :—

Persons	Office
Lord Falkland	Treasurer
Sir Richard Haddock	Comptroller
Mr. Hayter	The Comptroller's Assistant
Sir John Narbrough	Comptroller of the Victualling Accounts
Sir Phineas Pett	Comptroller of the Storekeepers' Accounts
Sir John Tippetts	Surveyor
Mr. Sotherne	Clerk of the Acts
Sir John Godwin	Commissioner at Chatham
Sir Richard Beach	Commissioner at Portsmouth

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[1] See pp. 80 and 85, *infra*.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 224–6.

[3] *Ib.* p. 257.

[4] P. 103.

[5] *Memoirs*, p. 45.

The changes proposed are as follows :—(1) That the services of Sir Anthony Deane on the board shall be secured at any cost, 'whose talents for this service seem to me (through every part of it) so much superior to all I have ever yet met with in the navy that I take his service for one of the most essential securities to be aimed at towards the rendering your Majesty's purposes in this undertaking successful.' (2) That, setting aside the treasurer, with whose appointment Pepys did not presume to interfere, three out of the remaining eight members of the existing board should be continued in office, Sir Phineas Pett, Sir John Godwin, and Sir Richard Beach; but an exchange of office was to be effected between the two first named. Pett, in consideration of his 'eminent capacity' as a shipwright, was to be placed at Chatham, 'where the most and weightiest part of your work will for some time lie;' while Godwin, who possessed 'no less useful experience' 'in the methods and accounts of the navy,' was to be brought from Chatham to London. (3) That the four following persons should be appointed in addition to Sir Anthony Deane, to fill the remaining vacancies on the board: Sir John Berry, 'for his long experience through every part of sea service, from the sailor upwards, with his known industry through all greatly qualifying him for the assisting of your navy board in all matters calling for the knowledge of a seaman;' Mr. Hewer, 'for his twenty-five years' uninterrupted experience and practice (within my own view) through every the most difficult parts (both executive and those of an accountant) appertaining to an officer of the navy, with a faithfulness, diligence, and reputation equal thereto;' Captain Shales, 'for his no less standing or extent of experience and practice, both as an accountant and otherwise, through the whole duty of a navy officer;' Mr. St. Michel, 'for his more than twenty years' continued service and experience in the navy both at sea and on shore, accompanied with the fullest evidences of his industry, faithfulness, and approved ability.' St. Michel was specially recommended as commissioner for the yards of Deptford and Woolwich, which, owing to the inefficiency of the existing officer, had fallen 'under the greatest disorders.' 'Provided still that your Majesty be first secured from every of these gentlemen in their divesting themselves of all other employments or occasions by which either your Majesty may be bereft of any part of their service and time, or their fellow-officers of their assistance.' The arrangement of business was therefore to be as follows :—

At the	Navy board		The Treasurer Sir Anthony Deane Sir John Berry Sir John Godwin Mr. Hewer Capt. Shales
	Out-yards	Chatham	Sir Phineas Pett
		Portsmouth	Sir Richard Beach
		Deptford and Woolwich	Mr. St. Michel

Thus the number of the old navy board would not be exceeded.

The 'Memorial' concludes with a statement of the enormous arrears of unadjusted accounts. From this it appears that all of Lord Falkland's accounts during his five years' period of past service remain unadjusted, 'and several of Mr. Seymour's before him.' The same was true of the late victualling contractors' accounts and those of the present commissioners for the victualling, the accounts of the thirty new ships built by Act of Parliament, the accounts of the storekeepers, the accounts of arrears of wages to the yards and seamen, 'the examining and adjusting of all boatswains', carpenters', and pursers' accounts,' the cost of building the new navy office, and the general debt of the navy. This consideration led Pepys to suggest that the king should still make use of Haddock, Tippetts, Narbrough, and Sotherne 'for fetching up and finishing these and what other accounts shall be depending' at the date of the new commission.

At the meeting of 29 January at which the 'Memorial' was presented to the king, Pepys was instructed to prepare 'a commission conformable thereto.' On Friday, 5 February, 1686, this also was presented to the king, and Pepys 'gave them in discourse' his 'conception of a draught of this commission,' which was generally approved, the details being left to be settled at subsequent conferences between the secretary to the admiralty and the attorney-general.[1] Pepys's draught was 'grounded generally' upon a commission he 'found on a like occasion in the 18th of King James the First.'[2]

Two days after the meeting of 5 February, Pepys began his approaches to Sir Anthony Deane. He had already remarked to the king upon the difficulties of the enterprise,[3] 'as having too much reason to believe that nothing less than your direct command will suffice to bring him back to an employment which your only mediation (against the contrary endeavours of the late commission of the admiralty) was able to obtain the late king's leave for his withdrawing himself from, in prospect of the evils he then saw approaching, and which your Majesty now feels the event of in the ruin of your navy.' The correspondence given in the manuscript extends from 7 February to 9 March. On 7 February Pepys in flattering terms summoned Sir Anthony Deane to an interview with the king[4] on the following day, 'who then proposed the work to him.'[5] Deane took time to consider the offer, and on the 11th he informed Pepys by letter[6] that, although 'without any reserves' he laid himself wholly at the king's feet, his business as a shipwright was bringing in to him 'more than double the benefit . . . the common wages of a commissioner of the navy amounts to,' and moreover he was fifteen in family, 'and not without expectation of more.' To this Pepys replied by the king's command on 3 March[1] that he was willing to allow of Deane's continuing in his hands the management of the same private affairs wherein he was now concerned; but the only result of this was to elicit from the resolute shipwright the statement[2] that although a man in his circumstances, with fifteen children to provide for, could take no pleasure in refusing a salary of 500*l.* a year, yet he could not bring himself 'to deceive his Majesty by taking his money upon terms inconsistent with the doing of the work' expected from him, and he could not, in justice to his family, value his whole time at less than 1,000*l.* a year. At the same time he was willing in his spare time to attend the meetings of the navy board without being accountable for the performance of the works' 'upon such terms as his Majesty shall think fit, be it with or without any salary at all.' Upon this the unfortunate Deane was carried off to the lord treasurer's lodgings to be reasoned with, 'when my lord expressed his dissatisfaction with Sir A. D.'s backwardness and standing upon terms with the king, with a degree of heat that I was sorry for, as being what was too much to be offered to anybody that was not then in the king's pay, and much more to him that I knew the king could not be without, had he asked ten times as much.'[3]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 9.

[2] Probably a slip for '15th.' The reference is evidently to the special commission of 1618.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 108.

[4] *Ib.* p. 127.

[5] *Ib.* p. 13.

[6] *Ib.* p. 131.

Pepys was then directed by the king to make a list of all the noted shipbuilders in England who might supply Sir Anthony Deane's place. This list is printed by Pepys in the *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy*;[4] but he does not print there the somewhat libellous 'characters' of the different individuals named which are to be found in the manuscript.[5] Of Sir John Tippetts, the first candidate, he writes: 'One that, were he not already in the commission of the navy, his age and infirmities arising from the gout (keeping him generally within doors, or at least incapable of any great action abroad) would render him wholly unable to go through the fatigue of the work designed for Sir Anthony Deane of visiting and rummageing the yards, offices, ships, and works, which must indispensably be undergone by some one to be specially charged therewith.' The second candidate, Sir Phineas Pett, is briefly dismissed with the words, 'In every respect as the first.' Mr. Lee, the master shipwright at Chatham, 'never built a ship in his life . . . he is also full of the gout, and by consequence as little capable as the former of the fatigue before mentioned.' Mr. Betts, master shipwright at Portsmouth, has built several good ships, particularly the Restoration, Sandwich, and Albemarle, but is 'illiterate, and not of countenance, method, or authority sufficient for a commissioner of the navy, especially in this post.' Mr. John Shish, master shipwright at Deptford, is 'old Jonas Shish's son, as illiterate as he . . . low-spirited, of little appearance or authority . . . little frugality;' his father 'a great drinker, and since killed with it.' Mr. Lawrence, master shipwright at Woolwich, 'has never built a ship in his life but the Little Victory, which he rebuilt at great charge, and when done was found fit for nothing but a fire-ship. A low-spirited, slow, and gouty man . . . illiterate and supine to the last degree.' Mr. Furzer, master shipwright at Sheerness, is 'young' and 'never built a ship, but finished one begun by his father at Portsmouth, . . . always bred under his father; working little, and thereby as little acquainted in the methods of good husbandry.' Mr. Dummer, assistant shipwright at Chatham, is 'an ingenious young man, but said rarely to have handled a tool in his life;' a mere draughtsman. Mr. Pett, another assistant at Chatham, and son of Sir Phineas Pett, is 'one that loves his ease, as having been ever used to it, not knowing what it is to work or take pains . . . bred always in the king's service within doors, and very debauched.' Mr. Stiggant, assistant at Portsmouth, is only a boatbuilder. Mr. Harding, assistant at Deptford, is 'a very slow man, of no learning, authority, or countenance, nor ever built a ship in his life.' Passing outside the king's service, Sir H. Johnson at Blackwall is 'an ingenious young gentleman, but above all personal labour, as being left too well provided for to work much.' Mr. Collins, his partner, is 'a good and painful, but very plain and illiterate man ; a Phanatick ; of no authority or countenance.' Mr. Robert Castle at Deptford 'has built many and very good merchant ships.' He is 'a good fellow, gouty, and too much engaged in merchant business to be able presently to withdraw from it, were he otherwise qualified for this occasion.' Of the four Thames shipwrights remaining on the list, Mr. Graves, though a good builder, is 'illiterate, of little presence, very old ;' the other, Jonas Shish, like his brother, is 'illiterate, low-spirited, and of no countenance for supporting such a charge,' and labours under the additional disqualification of having never built anything but merchantmen ; Mr. Barham is 'above threescore years old . . . a man of no spirit nor method, and a Phanatick ;' and Mr. Narbrough, though 'a person of the best appearance of all the merchant builders, and a man of good sense,' has 'but little experience, and that chiefly in small craft.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 135.

[2] On 6 March (p. 139).

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 14–15.

[4] Pp. 52–3.

[5] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 145.

This appalling list of disqualifications had the effect it was designed to have upon the king's mind ; it induced 'full conviction of the necessity of his prevailing with and satisfying Sir A. D.'[1] The precise terms that were offered him do not transpire, but on Saturday, 13 March, Mr. Pepys brought Sir Anthony Deane 'to the king in the morning to kiss his hand, who declared the same to him to his full satisfaction, and afterwards to my lord treasurer at the treasury chamber, with the same mutual content.'[2]

Somewhat similar difficulties occurred in the case of

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 16.

[2] *Ib.* p. 17.

Captain Shales, and here there was not the same reason for overcoming them. Pepys found that officer 'very thankful for the king's favour to him . . . and was most willing to accept of it, provided he might hold his present employment in the army, which he said he was so far embarked in that he could not without prejudice both to the king and himself now divest himself of.' Pepys explained to him that his whole time would be required for the navy, and he therefore elected to remain purveyor-general to the army. The result of this was that Sir John Narbrough was continued from the old commission to the new in the place of Shales.[1] The other nominees for office accepted readily enough.

In addition to the new board now to be constituted, it was decided to continue the other members of the old board [2] in full salary, 'freed of all other services than that of bringing up the accounts of their own time, and more particularly of the thirty new ships.' [3] This arrangement led to a pleasant passage between Pepys and Sir Richard Haddock, the dispossessed comptroller. 'This day [18 March] I was visited again by Sir R. H., after his having been with the king and received little satisfaction thereby; he making great complaints of his being undone, if (as he is informed) he be turned out of his employment, making great supplications to me, and begging my pardon for all his misbehaviours towards me, which I told him, and truly, I never had any regard to in the governing myself where the king is concerned, nor had in this occasion. But comforted him with the king's goodness to him in keeping him in commission, adding that no prince in Europe but himself (after such managements) would have done it.' [1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 11-13.

[2] These were Tippetts, Haddock, and Sotherne. In his own list (see p. 72, *supra*) Pepys includes Hayter among the board as assistant to the comptroller, but he was not a commissioner, and was not continued as such, although he acted with the other three in a subordinate capacity (Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 109).

[3] *Memoirs*, p. 43.

The commissions and the instructions annexed to them are dated 17 April, 1686.[2] The first patent appointed Tippetts, Haddock, Deane, Narbrough, Berry, Godwin, Sotherne, and Hewer 'our commissioners in quality of principal officers of our navy,' with power to do what any former commissioners had done. The important novelty is the formal distribution of the work to be done among the various commissioners who were responsible for doing it. The main part of the traditional duties of the navy board—the building, repairing, and equipping of ships and dockyards, the hiring, discharging, and payment of officers, seamen, and workmen, the making of surveys, estimates, and contracts, and the passing of accounts—was thrown upon Sir Anthony Deane, Sir John Narbrough, Sir John Berry, Sir John Godwin, and William Hewer, together with the treasurer of the navy for the time being, who were authorised to appoint a secretary—the counterpart of the former clerk of the acts—and a sufficient staff of subordinate clerks. They were required 'constantly to reside together within the bounds of our office of the navy, situate within the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street . . . lately erected by us to that purpose.' The winding up of all accounts relating to the period that closed on 25 March, 1686, was committed to the treasurer, together with Sir John Tippetts, Sir Richard Haddock, and James Sotherne. They were allowed two clerks, and 80*l.* a year each towards the rent of dwelling-houses, since they were to be turned out of their dwelling-houses within the navy office to make room for the new commissioners. They were also to have as much more as might be necessary to provide them with a convenient office.[3] The salaries of all the commissioners were to be

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 22.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 84. Another copy is in Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 261–322.

[3] This was found in a house upon Tower Hill (Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 59).

500*l.* a year each, with the customary allowances for travelling charges and other expenses.

The instructions to those of the commissioners who were appointed 'to the care of the growing service' of the navy required them (1) to 'appoint certain days in every week for their public meetings' at the navy office; (2) 'to cause a strict, methodical, and perfect survey' to be made of all the ships and (3) of victuals and victualling-stores; (4) to appoint a secretary and a sufficient staff of clerks, and to fix their salaries, provided that the whole of such salaries and allowances do not exceed the amount hitherto paid for that purpose, including the salary of the clerk of the acts; (5) to use the seal of the navy office, 'composed of three anchors;' (6) to keep clear accounts; (7) to do no extraordinary works 'without an estimate first duly prepared and signed by three or more of their number, and confirmed under the hand of' the lord high admiral for the time being; (8) 'to apply themselves with [the] utmost thoughtfulness, diligence, efficacy, and good husbandry' to the repair of the ships in harbour, and particularly of the thirty new ships 'lately built and already found fallen into great decays,' in which they are to take 'the particular advice' of Sir Anthony Deane, 'upon whom we have thought fit to place an especial trust and charge in this particular;' (9) to finish the three fourth-rates 'now upon the stocks,' to repair the docks and storehouses, and to repair the ships at sea 'as fast as our service shall successively admit of their being called home;' (10) to build and equip new ships as the lord high admiral shall from time to time direct; (11) 'at the proper seasons of the year to look out and contract for' stores and materials; (12) 'to the end that in this their providing of stores they may not be imposed on, either by purveyors or others, by a pretence of scarcity where choice may be had, or be limited (in their contractings for the same) to one merchant, where diverse might be found equally capable of furnishing us therewith,' the commissioners are to inspect the weekly returns at the custom house, 'to the end they may thereby be informed in what stores useful for our navy are from time to time imported into this our kingdom, with the names of the merchants importing the same;'[1] (13) to see that all persons give their constant attendance; (14) to report to the king the behaviour of officers, 'in order to the due correction of such of them as do ill, and rewarding the well-doers by preferment in our service;' (15) to report likewise the diligence of the officers in ordinary; (16) to follow the directions given about signing bills for stores; (17) 'to appoint distinct clerks and keep distinct offices within the general office of our navy, answerable to the several different works incident to our service;' (18) and (19) the 'present disorders' ascribed to 'the liberty for some time taken of committing the most important parts of the duties' of the principal officers 'to the care of clerks and inferior instruments;' this prohibited, and the commissioners made 'jointly accountable,' the treasurer being specially declared to be equally interested with the rest of the officers; (20) to study frugality; (21) to require accounts of the work being done in the dockyards; (22) to see that a strict account is kept of the receipts and issues of naval stores, and to that end to revive the former establishment of clerks of the comptrol;[2] (23) 'to have a more than ordinary regard . . . to the recovering (as fast as may be) the lost discipline of our navy, and the encouraging and establishing of sobriety and industry among all persons . . . employed in our service,' 'causing all future instances that shall be met with of drunkenness or other debauchery from any officer or other person of what degree soever within our pay to be punished with suspension from employment until upon report thereof made to ourself, or our high admiral for the time being, order shall be taken for such further proceedings to be made therein as . . . shall appear reasonable.' The remaining clauses are not important for our purpose except the last, which specially adjures the commissioners 'to apply their utmost diligence, industry, and experience to the rendering effectual in all its parts the Proposition lately digested and presented to us by the secretary of our admiralty, bearing date the 26th of January last.'[1] The instructions refer expressly to earlier instructions and letters of 18 January, 1661–2,[2] 8 and 26 December, 1665, 26 August and 25 November, 1668,[3] and 25th September, 1671,[4] 'whereto our said commissioners are hereby referred for their future guidance (in such manner as may consist with the method of proceeding thus established by commission) in all matters not repealed or otherwise provided for by these our present instructions.'[5]

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[1] This paragraph is evidently based on the instructions of 1662. See p. 22, *supra*.

[2] See p. 63, *supra*.

The instructions intended for the three commissioners concerned with the unadjusted accounts have no general interest.

The patent constituting Sir Phineas Pett resident commissioner for Chatham and Sheerness is dated 19 April, 1686.[6] It requires him to reside at Chatham in the dwelling-house 'usually enjoyed' by the commissioner of the yard there; it confers on him a salary of 500*l.*, and a staff of two clerks of his own appointment, at salaries of 50*l.* and 30*l.* respectively; and it gives him power to administer an oath. The patent also requires all orders to the yard officers under him to pass through his hands, 'and that thereupon also you, before delivery of the same, do cause them to be fairly entered in a register book to be by you kept for that purpose,' in order to ensure Pett's full responsibility for all the transactions of the yard. The annexed instructions require the commissioner (1) not to absent himself from Chatham 'without license first had to that purpose from ourself, or our lord high admiral, or the written assent of the body of our said commissioners.' (2) To be accountable for the performance of all orders. (3) To keep the officers of the yard to their 'constant and personal attendance upon their several duties,' 'all pretences to the contrary, disability by sickness only excepted, being set aside;' leave of absence being granted in writing by the commissioner only, and for a specified occasion and time. Power given to fine and suspend offenders, pending a report to the lord high admiral or to the body of the commissioners. (4) 'The like he is to do in reference to the officers of our ships in ordinary.' (5) To report his observation of the behaviour of all officers. (6) 'To have a strict eye to the capacity, strength, and industry of the workmen.' (7) To inform himself properly of the duties of the several officers under his inspection; 'and for the fuller effecting hereof he is once at least, or oftener, in every year, to call before him the whole number of officers of our said respective yards, and cause their several instructions to be publicly read in their joint hearings, with his observations of what failures (if any) he shall happen to have noted in their execution, in order to the more effectual prevention of any failures in future, or the rendering the said officers less excusable before us for the same.' (8) For the better prevention of embezzlement the commissioner is not only to 'promote' as far as possible the regularity of the new system for keeping accounts of the receipts and issues of stores, but he is also 'to be frequent in his visiting the workmen at their departure out of our said yards, keeping a strict and severe eye upon the respective porters of the same, and to the attendance given at the gates; as also to visit and stop up all present and prevent all future back-doors[1] or other outlets, more than the public gates leading into and out of the same; and lastly to be as frequent as he may, and the distance of places will admit, in his nightly rounds in and about each of our said yards.' (9) To visit the ships in ordinary by night. (10) To apply himself to the body of the board for advice. (11) To use his utmost care to recover the discipline of the navy. (12) To superintend the delivery of stores into the yard. (13) To visit the ships in ordinary 'on float.' (14) To see that the officers of the yards 'keep constant journals of each day's principal transactions and business within their several provinces.' (15) To see that no work is taken in hand without a proper estimate and a warrant from three or more of the commissioners 'authorising the doing of the same.' (16) To govern himself by the standing rules of the navy. Similar patents and instructions were issued to Balthazar St. Michel at Deptford and Woolwich,[1] and to Sir Richard Beach at Portsmouth.[2] These are both dated 19 April, 1686.

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[1] See p. 69, *supra*.

[2] See p 20, *supra*.

[3] See pp. 30 and 32, *supra*.

[4] See p. 24, *supra*. 18 Jan. should be 28 Jan.

[5] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 100.

[6] *Ib.* p. 111.

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[1] 'I have often smiled,' wrote John Hollond in 1638, 'to see the great care and cost taken in building brick walls ten foot high, setting up watch-houses in all corners of the king's yard, maintaining porters, watchmen, &c., to prevent what abuses might happen, and yet all this time liberty given to at least five or six back-doors through men's dwelling-houses, which by how much they are least suspected by so

Nearly a month before the patents were signed the commission was well under way, acting under the limitations of the royal warrants of 13 March which gave instructions to the attorney-general that the patents were to be prepared,[3] and on the authority of a special warrant of 23 March which empowered them 'to assemble together and proceed to the adjustment of all things which shall require the same' before the passing of their respective patents,[4] and another of 25 March which authorised the

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much they are the more dangerous to be the very receptacles of thefts and embezzlements in the king's service . . . all men know in private houses, and much more in a king's service, a back-door was always reputed a thief to the inhabitant' (*Discourses of the Navy*, pp. 97–8).

[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 121. Another copy is in Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 323–46.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 131. A table of the slight verbal differences between the commissions to Pett, St. Michel, and Beach is given in Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 347.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 64–81, and Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 155-90, 195.

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 81, and Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 203–5.

commissioners for the growing service of the navy (as distinguished from those concerned with the unadjusted accounts) 'to proceed to the execution of the charge and duty of commissioners of the navy.'[1] Their proceedings were initiated by 'a very earnest, plain, and serious discourse' from the king to the new members of the commission at St. James's in the afternoon of Monday, 22 March, 'my lord treasurer attending.'[2] The heads of the king's discourse[3] were put together by Pepys, who was afterwards instructed to 'read over and enlarge upon' the paper he had prepared, and so to 'open' the king's 'whole mind' to the new commission.[4] A suitable reply was made by Sir Anthony Deane 'in the name of the whole.'[5] On the 25th they had a preliminary interview with the lord treasurer of a formal kind,[6] and on the last day of the month they had a long discussion with him about the future financing of the navy.[7] After other meetings, for various business, Pepys, Deane, Narbrough, Berry, and Godwin attended the king at Chatham on 27 April, 'Sir Phineas Pett being also there, but bed-rid by lameness,'[8] and 'had a full opportunity of showing him by inspection the backwardness of the docks (neither of them being likely to be of any use to him this year), the want of store room . . . and above all the wretched condition of the hulls of his great ships.' 'The king after this view had . . . divers . . . particulars of the navy largely opened to him by me, and discoursed upon at a solemn council held by him thereon at Mr. Gregory's house with the gentlemen before named, together with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Dartmouth, Rear-Admiral Herbert, and the prince.[9] So that this seems to give a perfect consummation of the late business of our navy settlement by the king's becoming an ocular witness of the necessity of it from the state of his ships, besides what was in discourse added as to the stores from the evident want of materials necessary for the repair thereof, especially as to thick stuff, plank, and trenails, and those not in view to be had for money. To which his Majesty had also an opportunity of having an account given him upon the place of the universal supineness of his officers, with a proof of it the same evening beyond all expectation or imagination upon our seeing him on board his yacht in the evening bound for London, and we back again from below Gillingham up the river in a violent storm of rain all that evening and night, without one port shut upon any one of the ships in our passage but what we by hailing caused to be so, or upon the St. Andrew and Grafton in dock, neither shipwright, nor assistant, nor any other officer minding it . . . nothing being more evident than the evil that this negligence has brought upon the navy by ships being kept with their ports either always shut in dry weather or open in wet, to the occasioning that succession of heat and moisture that has ruined them.'[1] 'From this day,' continues Pepys,[2] writing under date Wednesday, 28 April, 'the commission proceeded in its advances towards the general repair of the navy, furthered therein by the frequent personal visits of the king to the several yards, and public instances given of his satisfaction in the same.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 83, and Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 207-9.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 28.

[3] See *ib.* p. 199.

[4] *Ib.* pp. 27-8.

[5] *Ib.* p. 29.

[6] *Ib.* p. 32.

[7] *Ib.* p. 39.

[8] *Ib.* p. 66.

[9] Prince George of Denmark.

While the commission was forming, a point that had given Pepys some trouble was the position of the treasurer of the navy, the only one of the 'principal officers' who retained his old status and title. In spite of the fact that the instructions to the treasurer had been redrawn in September 1671,[3] and a 'solemn establishment' made by Order in Council with a view to 'the sure binding of this officer to a better compliance with his duty,' the whole work of reorganisation had been 'again undone' when

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 68–71.

[2] *Ib.* p. 71.

[3] *Ib.* p. 230. See also p. 24, *supra*.

Seymour's patent was passed in 1673 'not by the ordinary course through the hand of the lord admiral,' and he obtained the office 'without any such reference had therein to this establishment and instructions.'[1] The result of this was that during the whole eight years of his treasurership Seymour did not attend a single public meeting of the navy board; and the present treasurer, Lord Falkland, who had reaped the benefit of a similar omission in his patent, had been equally remiss. Pepys therefore recommended, in a memorial dated 30 March, 1686, that on the renewal of Lord Falkland's patent, now necessary through the death of the late king, care should be taken for the revival of the establishment of 1671 'by the affixing these instructions thereto, and enjoining the execution of them on him with the same strictness and in the same manner wherewith it is now done by your Majesty in the case of every other of your present commissioners and principal officers of your navy.' He also advised that the treasurer's house at Deptford should be handed over to the king for the use of the resident commissioner there, a recommendation which was promptly carried out.[2] Falkland did not escape without a wigging from the king, who 'with great kindness and plainness too, opened the importance of his compliance strictly in his attendance at the board and giving his whole time to the business.' The treasurer 'thankfully received this admonition from his Majesty, excused his imperfect service hitherto from his late want of health and his having yet done as much as his late predecessors, but that he would now apply himself closely to it. With which, and repetitions thereof in discourse on both sides, the meeting ended satisfactorily.' Falkland afterwards confided to Pepys 'that he had another reason for his past slackness in his attendance at the navy board, which he was loth to name to the king,' 'viz. the ill-treatments he had received from Sir R. Haddock particularly, and other gentlemen at the board.'[1] As Haddock and Pepys were not friends, this confidence was not lacking in diplomatic adroitness.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 246.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 51, 353.

The special commission appointed in 1686 was intended to last for a term of three years, the time estimated to be necessary for putting the navy into a state of thorough repair. But by 31 August, 1688, it was possible for the commissioners to report that their work was nearly finished, and 'after the works now in hand and near performed upon the nine ships following, namely, the St. Michael, Royal Katherine, and Britannia at Chatham, the St. George and Monck at Portsmouth, the Happy Return and Oxford at Woolwich, and the Portland and Phœnix at Deptford, shall be finished, there will remain to be repaired only the four ships following, viz.: Prince, Victory, Royal Oak, and Kingfisher, and no more.'[2] Accordingly, by commission under the Great Seal dated 12 October, 1688,[3] the special commission of 17 April, 1686, was dissolved, after two and a half years' tenure of office, and the system of government by principal officers was restored. Lord Falkland remained treasurer of the navy, as before, while Sir Richard Haddock was recalled to the office of comptroller, Sir John Tippetts to that of surveyor, and James Sotherne to that of clerk of the acts. Sir John Berry was made comptroller of the victualling accounts, and Sir William Booth, successor to Sir John Narbrough, who died in May 1688, comptroller of the storekeepers' accounts. Sir Phineas Pett remained at Chatham, Sir Richard Beach at Portsmouth, and Balthazar St. Michel at Deptford and Woolwich.[4] Haddock, Tippetts, and Sotherne, with Thomas Hayter to assist them, were directed to continue the unfinished business of adjusting the old accounts, while Deane and Hewer were continued as commissioners for a time to wind up the business of the special commission, though they were required to give up their houses within the navy office to the restored principal officers. Meanwhile they were allowed 80*l.* each for house rent, and a further sum for the rent of a convenient office, and the wages of such of their clerks as they thought fit to continue, until such time as the business of the commission of 1686 should be finally concluded.[1] The restored principal officers were to have salaries of 500*l.* a year.[2] The king seems also to have cherished the design of retaining Deane and Hewer by special commission as 'inspectors marine' 'over the whole,' the former for the works and the latter for the accounts.[3] The papers in the manuscript account of the proceedings of the special commission contain a protest from Hewer against the scheme,[4] on the ground that the methods of the navy in accounting are now so clear that only industry and knowledge are needed. 'I think it my duty,' he writes to Pepys on 15 October, 1688, 'humbly to advise his Majesty not to draw upon himself . . . the charge of an office his navy not only has never yet known, but which, when established, will lie entirely within the power of under-officers to render either unnecessary by their doing, or unuseful to him by their not doing (as they ought) the known duties of their places.' This protest delayed the projected commission, and was eventually 'made successful by the revolution following soon after in the state.'[5]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 51–2.

[2] *Ib.* p. 372. *Cf.* pp. 94–5, *infra.*

[3] A copy of this is in Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 369.

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 374–5.

The work done by the special commission appears on the whole to have given satisfaction both to the king and Pepys. The latter, in a letter of 12 September,[6] addressed to the navy board, in which he gives them notice of the king's intention to revive the old constitution of the board, writes:

I cannot but with great satisfaction reflect upon the condition you will be remembered to have left the navy of England in, when it shall appear that the last command you had to execute from the king was upon a warrant for fitting forth of ships presented him by me with blanks for their numbers to be filled at his pleasure . . . with his own royal hand. God grant that this, which I take to be the first instance to be met with of the kind since England had a navy, may ever be within the power of your successors to follow you in.' In his minute-book,[1] however, Pepys moralises over human frailty, and gives credit for the success of the commission where it was due. 'Such has ever been,' he writes (of the failure of parliamentary inquiries into the navy, and the ignorance of the commissioners who conducted them), 'and is at this day the paucity of men in this nation to be found more sufficient, that were the election of another such a tribunal now to be made, and committed wholly to myself, I durst not undertake to make a better choice, after the proof I had of it in the set of hands proposed entirely (saving the treasurer) by myself to the king my master at the setting up of the last commission, wherein, though there was not one that was not eminently qualified and experienced in some or other of the fundamental articles of the business of the navy, to the comprehending the whole thereof among them, and notwithstanding all the strictness of their instructions, the king's injunctions, their own promises, and my daily eye and hand upon them, yet what with the laziness of one, the private business or love of pleasure in another, want of method in a third, and zeal to the affair in the most, the issue of that commission had been as successless in every respect as either of these before mentioned, or any other that ever were in the navy of England, had not the whole work, conduct, and care of it been upheld by two of the number only, namely, Sir A. Deane and Mr. Hewer, as scandalously to the government as they have been since treated for it.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 377–81.

[2] *Ib.* p. 382.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 378, 383, and table of contents.

[4] *Ib.* p. 383.

[5] *Ib.* p. 73.

[6] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xv. 148.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 295.

A note at the end of Pepys's diary of the proceedings of the commission of 1686 tells us that his *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy* were published about June 1690, in defence of the commission in general, and of Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Hewer, and himself in particular, against the attacks of 'a strong combination' 'raised for the discrediting of the same.'[1] As in this matter Pepys is a partisan, we shall do wisely to go for information to the report of King William's commission of public accounts appointed under an Act of Parliament, with power to investigate the proceedings of the commission of 1686 for the repair of the navy.[2] As the commission was not appointed until 1690,[3] and the report of the commissioners was not signed until 15 November, 1692, it is entirely independent of the account given in the *Memoirs.* A copy of it is contained in the manuscript volume under consideration.

The commissioners examined the surviving members of the commission of 1686, and the master shipwrights and their assistants in the royal dockyards, inquiring more particularly of the latter 'of the nature of those services mentioned by the said late commissioners under the terms of rebuilding, ordinary, and extraordinary repairs, and under which of these the ships that have had their fitting or repairs between 1 April, 1686, and 12 October, 1688, have respectively appertained; and likewise what ships were insufficiently repaired, and what controlment or invasion (if any) had been made upon their offices during the continuance of the said commission.'[4] The only complaints against the late commission came from the shipwrights at Chatham, where Robert Lee, the master shipwright, and Edmund Dummer, his assistant, alleged (1) 'that, by the over-hastiness of orders coming one upon another from the then navy board (which consisted of those late commissioners) to that yard, sufficient time was not allowed for ransacking the caulking of ships, and that the second repairs occasioned thereby was smothered among other works to hide their first failures, and in particular that Sir Anthony Deane procured a warrant to smother his own defects;' (2) that a report from the yard concerning East Country plank had been returned by Sir Anthony Deane to be amended; (3) that the commissioners 'brought orders ready drawn from London for them to sign, persuading them thereunto by promises of getting their subsistence augmented;' (4) that 'the certificates which they had signed of the ships being repaired was procured (they being not free agents therein) by menaces and undue practices.' The commissioners considered these charges carefully, examined the warrants and orders, heard 'all parties face to face,' and then reported that 'the objections appeared to be ungrounded and not sufficiently made out.' A more serious accusation was made with the authority of the late surveyor, Sir John Tippetts, who, with others of the 'old officers' whom the commission of 1686 had displaced, seems to have been very jealous of their success.[1] It was stated 'under his hand' that the fleet was handed over by the special commission to the principal officers in 1688 'in so ill a condition that the extraordinary charge of repair of carpentry alone upon the aforesaid ships pretended to be by them repaired, either before they went to sea or upon their return back soon after for insufficiency, amounted to above 120,000*l.*;' but to this accusation also Deane and Hewer had an answer which appeared to the commissioners satisfactory.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 73.

[2] *Ib.* p. 389.

[3] 26 Dec. 1690 (*Commons Journals*, x. 528).

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, pp. 392–3.

In that part of their report which contained definite conclusions the commissioners of accounts dealt mainly with two points—the moneys expended by the commission of 1686 during the two years and a half that they were in office, and the nature and extent of the services rendered for those moneys. The statement of accounts adopted in the report shows that at the rate of 400,000*l.* a year the special commission ought to have had at their disposal during their term the sum of 1,015,384*l.* Of this they actually received in the way agreed on only about five-sixths—849,670*l.*—though this amount came to be increased from other sources to 932,563*l.* Within the actual period of the commission they spent 909,979*l.*, and thus the excess of receipts over expenditure was 22,584*l.* But other items arising after the commission determined had to be brought into the account, and these finally left the balance in the treasurer's hands at 2,692*l.* The much fuller account given in the *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy*[1] is made upon a different plan, and does not, like the commissioners' account, confine itself to the 'Proposition,' for Pepys brings in a number of 'extraordinary works and services' not chargeable upon the 400,000*l.* a year. On this method of calculation the sums expended by the special commission amounted altogether to 307,570*l.* less than 'might unexceptionally have been expended' by the commission on the calculation of the original 'Proposition.' Pepys notes that the salaries of the officials who effected this saving amounted to little more than 6,000*l.*, and the 'simple wages of a worn, unassisted secretary.'[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 73.

With regard to 'the execution of that part of the said commission which refers to the full repair and preservation of the ships and other things relating to that service,' the findings of the commission of public accounts are as follows: (1) That the special commission did its work in six months' less time than was expected. (2) That during its term of two years and a half three fourth-rates were built,[3] twenty ships rebuilt,[4] and sixty-nine repaired,[1] and 'a sufficiency of materials, money, and workmen left at the determination thereof for the despatch of four ships then under repair[2] . . . and four others remaining to be repaired.'[3] (3) That 'there was actually expended upon the ninety-two ships and the four ships under repair aforesaid, by reason of the works appearing and proving upon opening so much more and in worse condition than was expressed in the surveys and estimates . . . above 88,000*l.* more than was allotted for that service.' (4) 'That besides the works so performed upon the ninety-six ships before mentioned there was also repaired twenty-nine of those at sea at the date of this commission (and so not provided for within the same), to the expense of more than 22,000*l.*' (5) 'That there were moreover by them new built three ships, one hoy, and two lighters, all completely furnished with stores, to the amount of near 8,000*l.*' (6) 'That the said commissioners . . . did also build twelve storehouses at Deptford, one at Woolwich, twenty-one at Chatham, and twenty at Portsmouth, besides docks, dwelling-houses, mast-houses, boat-houses, walls, &c., and other repairs at the said places, to the value of above 32,000*l.*' (7) 'And besides, the value of stores and wages issued and expended at the several yards for harbour expenses, and keeping in ordinary repairs the ships, boats, lighters, docks, wharves, cranes, storehouses, and other ordinary services between

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[1] P. 152.

[2] *Memoirs*, pp. 154, 155, 157.

[3] St. Albans, Deptford, and Sedgmoor.

[4] Cambridge, Edgar, Hampton Court, Monmouth, Mary, Mountagu, Stirling Castle, Warspite, York, Assistance, Centurion, Dover, Hamp-

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shire, Jersey, Nonsuch, Portsmouth, Portland, Guernsey, St. Paul, Richmond.

[1] St. Andrew, Royal Charles, Royal James, London, Royal Sovereign, Albemarle, Centurion, Duke, Duchess, Neptune, Ossory, Sandwich, Vanguard, Windsor Castle, Hope, Harwich, Henrietta, Anne, Berwick, Breda, Burford, Captain, Dunkirk, Dreadnought, Defiance, Exeter, Eagle, Essex, Expedition, Elizabeth, Grafton, Kent, Lennox, Lion, Northumberland, Plymouth, Pendennis, Resolution, Rupert, Restoration, Swiftsure, Suffolk, Advice, Antelope, Assurance, Charles galley, Constant Warwick, St. David, Diamond, Dragon, Foresight, Greenwich, Half Moon, Leopard, Mordaunt, Newcastle, Reserve, Swallow, Sweepstakes, Tiger, Tiger prize, Woolwich, Guardland, Swan, Sampson fireship, Dumbarton, Fanfan, Sophia prize, Sallee Rose.

[2] Britannia, St. Michael, Katherine, Monck.

[3] St. George, Prince, Victory, Royal Oak.

1 April, 1686, and 12 October, 1688, to the value of near 63,000*l.*' (8) 'That there was expended within the same time by these commissioners in sea wages and victuals, over and above all recruits of sea stores within that time, upwards of 245,000*l.*' (9) 'That there was left by them in magazine naval stores for answering the general service amounting (in eight species only) to more than 106,000*l.* value, over and above the eight months' sea stores entirely provided and laid apart for the sixty-one ships then in harbour, coming to above 148,000*l.*, and besides what was further provided of the same species by contracts in being at the determination of the commission aforesaid.' (10) That none of the commissioners of 1686 are now living except Lord Falkland, Sir Anthony Deane, and Mr. Wm. Hewer. (11) 'And that no part of the money herein mentioned, ordered and paid out of the receipt of the exchequer or otherwise to the use of the said commission, was paid to any other of the commissioners but the lord viscount Falkland, treasurer of the navy, and no part of it to them, the said Sir Anthony Deane and Mr. Wm. Hewer, more than their salaries for two years and a half continuation of the said commission; and none for their service within the six months after the determination of their commission.' The commissioners then gave their conclusion upon the whole matter: 'That the ships built, rebuilt, and repaired by these commissioners were fully and well performed, and the buildings and other works by them erected and made during the continuation of the said commission were done with great exactness, sufficiency, and frugality of expense in the managery and conduct thereof.' The report is signed by Sir Thomas Clarges, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Paul Foley, Sir Peter Colleton, and Sir Matthew Andrews. Sir Benjamin Newland agreed with the general conclusions of the commission, but, according to Pepys,[1] he declined to sign it 'on

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 76.

a political consideration very notorious.' Harley was a member of the commission, but did not sign, as he was prevented by illness from being present at its meetings. He afterwards criticised the report for want of definiteness,[1] and his criticisms were answered by Hewer in a letter dated 8 June, 1694.[2] The report was then still unpresented to parliament, to the great annoyance of the persons whose conduct was vindicated by it.[3]

The circumstances under which the second secretaryship of Samuel Pepys came to an end are part of the general history of England, and are therefore too well known to call for repetition here; and although his official correspondence [4] contains a good many references to the closing scenes of the reign of James II, and in particular to the fate of the naval administration when the Revolution of 1688 was actually impending, the more important letters have been already printed or abstracted from the originals among the Dartmouth Papers.[5]

The routine business of the navy went on steadily during the stirring events that were crowded into the last week of November and the first week of December 1688, but at last, on 11 December, the final step was taken, and the secretary to the admiralty was informed that the king had fled.[6] He then took his orders from the council of peers,[7] and on 12 December transmitted for them to the ports instructions that all vessels going down the Thames should be 'examined, and no person suffered to pass that does not produce a passport under the hands and seals of five peers or from the Lord Mayor of London.'[8] On 15 December an embargo was laid on all outward-bound vessels, but this was removed the next day by the king on his return to London.[9] On 21 December, Pepys mentions that the king was 'a second time withdrawn,'[1] and on Christmas Day we find him writing to the fleet at the bidding of the Prince of Orange.[2] He continued to act as secretary to the admiralty until 20 February, 1688–9, and on 9 March he was directed to hand over his papers to Phineas Bowles, who succeeded him.[3]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1490, p. 419.

[2] *Ib.* p. 431.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 77–9.

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters.*

[5] Historical MSS. Commission, *Eleventh Report*, Appendix, part v. pp. 205–55.

[6] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xv. 464.

[7] *Ib.* xv. 464, 467.

[8] *Ib.* xv. 467, 468.

[9] *Ib.* xv. 469.

2. *Finance*

The want of money in the navy and the troubles arising therefrom can be illustrated at a great many points by the financial details furnished by the Pepysian papers.

The restored monarchy must have inherited naval indebtedness from the Interregnum, and that to a considerable amount. On 4 October, 1659, the admiralty commissioners had been instructed by the council of state to report an estimate of all navy debts to 25 March, 1660.[4] This was supplied to them on the following day by the navy commissioners, who estimated the debts to 1 November, 1659, at 722,000*l.*, and the expenses from 1 November, 1659, to 31 March, 1660, including the yards, at 555,142*l.* 17*s.*, a total of 1,277,142*l.* 17*s.*[5] This proved to be too low an estimate, for on 6 March, 1659–60, another calculation placed the debts of the navy to 1 February, 1659–60, only, at 1,284,452*l.*[6] Thus it is not surprising to find an entry in the *Diary*, as early as 31 July, 1660,[7] complaining that the navy 'is in very sad condition, and money must be raised for it;' and similar complaints in the year 1661,[8] which show that the officers of the navy were often at their wits' end for money, even in time of peace. But when the war with Holland broke out in the spring of 1665, the situation, in spite of the large parliamentary grants, soon became very serious. The credit of the government, which might have been so valuable a resource in times of emergency, had sunk to the lowest ebb. As early as September 1664—before the war had seriously begun—Commissioner Pett had attempted to buy tallow and candles for the navy at Maidstone, but found the country 'so shy,' that though assured of good payment they refused to deal,[1] and in January 1665-6 Commissioner Middleton wrote from Portsmouth, that all men distrust London pay.[2] Nearly half the letters to the navy commissioners in the State Papers calendared for 1665-6 refer to the difficulties experienced by government agents in attempting to obtain supplies.[3] In this way bargains were lost for want of ready money,[4] and where credit was obtained, enormous prices had to be paid.[5] The hardships to private persons occasioned by the want of money were intolerable. We hear of an anchorsmith who had delivered goods to the value of 6,000*l.* during the year, and had only received 800*l.* on account;[6] of a firm of slopsellers who had supplied 24,800*l.* during the last two years, and having received only 800*l.* would shortly be ruined both in their estates and families;[7] of arrears at Bristol, affecting several classes of artificers,[8] where the shipbuilder

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xv. 470.

[2] *Ib.* xv. 472.

[3] *D. N. B.* xliv. 364.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1659–60, p. 237.

[5] *Ib.* p. 494.

[6] *Ib.* p. 383.

[7] *Diary*, i. 211.

[8] *Diary*, ii. 53 (11 June, 1661: 'now the credit of the office is brought so low, that none will sell us anything without our personal security given for the same'); ii. 81 (14 Aug. 1661); ii. 93 (31 Aug. 1661: 'we are at our office quiet, only for lack of money all things go to rack'); ii. 113 (30 Sept. 1661: 'the want of money puts all

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things, and above all things the navy, out of order'); ii. 136 (13 Nov. 1661); ii. 270 (28 June, 1662: 'God knows! the king is not able to set out five ships at this present without great difficulty, we neither having money, credit, nor stores').

[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cii. 123.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1665-6, p. 189. See also *ib.* 1666-7, p. 233, and *Diary*, vi. 380 (20 June, 1667).

[3] *Ib.* 1665-6, p. xxxix.

[4] *Ib.* 1666-7, p. 228, and 1665-6, p. 189.

[5] Even in 1658 the navy commissioners had been obliged to buy at from thirty to fifty per cent. above the market price (Oppenheim, p. 351).

[6] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1666-7, p. 72.

[7] *Ib.* 1664-5, p. 353.

[8] *Ib.* 1667, p. 374.

writes in despair, 'I have so disabled myself in the relief of poor workmen that I am now out of a capacity of relieving mine own family: I have disbursed and engaged for more than I am worth.'[1] The Barber Surgeons' Company complain of bills of 1,496*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* outstanding for filling chests with medicines, and speak of the outrageous and opprobrious language they receive from unpaid surgeons and their friends;[2] while a certain poor widow, unpaid by the government, is in a most deplorable condition, without a stick of wood or coals to lay on the fire, and owing money to about fifteen people as poor as herself, who torment her daily.[3]

A manuscript in the Pepysian Library, entitled *A Collection of Papers stating the Expense of the Navy from* 1660 *to* 1666, *and more particularly the Charge of the then Dutch War*,[4] enables us to supplement the numerous but vague references in the *Diary*[5] by a more precise estimate of the financial effects of the earlier years of the war.

The ordinary charge of the navy in harbour had been estimated in 1664 at about 40,000*l.* a year,[6] but the total annual charge, including the ships at sea, might be taken at nearly 400,000*l.* a year in time of peace.[7] The Pepysian papers supply materials for a comparison of the war expenses with these peace figures at two different dates. In a letter of 14 March, 1665–6, to Sir Philip Warwick,[1] Pepys deals with the financial position at that date. So enormous were the arrears, that the sum of 2,312,876*l.* would be needed to pay the fleet and yards to 1 August, 1665, to clear off the arrears of the victualler and provide victuals for the current year, to finish ten new ships that had been ordered, and to provide for wear and tear and wages from 1 January to 1 November, 1666. To meet this, the total funds available, including a parliamentary grant of 1,250,000*l.* made in October 1665, amounted to 1,498,483*l.*[2] Thus there was a deficit of 814,393*l.* But to this would have to be added other charges, not included in the first estimate—principally wear and tear and wages from 1 November to 31 December, 1666, arrears of wages and other debts—which would increase the deficit to 1,277,161*l.*, over and above 'the whole expense of the office of the ordnance.' In other words, the funds available for the navy in March 1665–6, the second year of the war, were scarcely more than half its probable requirements. Nevertheless Pepys himself derived great consolation from a calculation which he had made of the cost of the war with Holland in 1653, whereby it appeared that 'the States' charge then seems to have exceeded the king's for the same service and time by 171,785*l.*'[3]

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[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxlii. 56; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. 563.

[2] *Ib.* 1667, p. 454.

[3] Compare *ib.* 1667–8, p. 455, and 1666–7, p. 233.

[4] Pepysian MSS. No. 2589.

[5] *Diary*, iv. 388 (7 April, 1665: 'to the Duke of Albemarle, about money to be got for the navy, or else we must shut up shop'); iv. 391 (12 April, 1665); v. 6 (6 July, 1665); v. 133 (31 Oct. 1665); v. 185 (31 Dec. 1665); v. 216 (3 Feb. 1665–6); v. 222 (14 Feb. 1665–6: 'our business was discourse of the straits of the navy for want of money . . . nor any money promised, or like to be had'); v. 227 (19 Feb. 1665–6); v. 289 (12 May, 1666); v. 291 (13 May, 1666); v. 292 (15 May, 1666); v. 400 (15 Aug. 1666); vi. 9 (7 Oct. 1666); vi. 28 (19 Oct. 1666); vi. 66 (16 Nov. 1666); vi. 120 (2 Jan. 1666–7); vi. 248 (1 April, 1667: Sir W. Coventry 'flatly owns that we must have a peace, for we cannot set out a fleet'); vii. 73 (20 Aug. 1667); vii. 295 (29 Jan. 1667-8); vii. 302 (4 Feb. 1667–8); viii. 189 (27 Dec. 1668).

[6] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663–4, p. 624.

[7] The charge of the navy from the Restoration to Christmas 1662 had been at the rate of 374,743*l.* a year (*Diary*, iii. 44).

Another statement of the expenditure of the navy during the second Dutch war is to be found in a letter from the navy board to the lord treasurer[1] dated 24 September, 1666, which gives for the information of parliament—just then about to meet—the following estimate of the expenses of the navy between 1 September, 1664, and 29 September, 1666, 'with as much exactness as (at a time so full of action, and under the disorder our books and papers have been put into by the late unhappy Fire) so complex an account is capable of:'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2589, pp. 1–3.

[2] It is evidently to this financial situation that an entry in the *Diary* under date 19 Feb. 1665–6 refers—'I to my lord treasurer's, where . . . the state of our navy debts were laid open, being very great, and their want of money to answer them openly professed, there being but 1,500,000*l.* to answer a certain expense and debt of 2,300,000*l.*' (v. 227).

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2589, p. 118. Compare the *Diary*, 16 March, 1668–9—'upon the whole do find that the late times, in all their management, were not more husbandly than we' (viii. 262).

	£
Bills signed on the treasurer, and certificates charged on the exchequer for goods served in, services done, and freight of hired ships, with allowance for like goods, services, and freights for which bills are due but not made out	1,003,605
Wages to officers and seamen . . .	1,114,326
Victuals	743,238
Ordinary and extraordinary of yards and ropeyards	209,792
Sick and wounded	72,000
Admiral's regiment	45,479
Widows and orphans	12,076
	3,200,516[2]

It is pointed out, however, that this estimate is approximate only, for owing to the impossibility 'during the present action' of taking stock of the stores, and comparing them with the quantities in hand at the beginning of the account, it was quite possible that the depletion of stores during the war would make these figures a good deal under the mark.[3] Of this sum of 3,200,516*l.*, only 2,270,020*l.* had been paid, leaving a deficit of 930,496*l.*[1] This was far above the most extravagant estimates that had yet been made. In 1664 Pepys had prepared an account of the extraordinary charges that had already arisen out of the Dutch war, and he 'brought it to appear' 852,700*l.*, 'but God knows this is only a scare to the parliament, to make them give the more money.'[2] On the present occasion the Commons found the undecorated facts alarming enough, and in October 1666 they voted 1,800,000*l.*, although their suspicion that the money was being wasted led to the appointment of that commission of public accounts which was to give Pepys and his colleagues such infinite trouble.[3]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2589, p. 13.

[2] There is a reference to this calculation in the *Diary* under date 10 Oct. 1666—'The whole charge of the navy as we state it for two years and a month'—3,200,000*l.* (vi. 14).

[3] Pepys wrote in the *Diary* on 23 Sept. 1666, the day before this estimate was sent in to the lord treasurer, 'Our method of accounting, though it cannot, I believe, be far wide from the mark, yet will not abide a strict examination if the parliament should be troublesome' (v. 443).

As soon as the war came to an end the higher authorities of the navy began to consider schemes of retrenchment. On 29 July, 1667, a committee was appointed by Order in Council, 'to take into serious consideration all the several branches' of 'the king's expenses,' and report 'what proportions of each may best and most conveniently be retrenched,' his Majesty being resolved 'to practise the rules of thrift and good husbandry.'[4] This committee ordered a report of the navy expenses and of the fittest way to reduce them, and although the navy board asked for time for consideration, the Duke of York, not wishing the office under his command to 'seem the slowest of his Majesty's offices to a reformation,' addressed a letter to the commissioners, dated 12 August, 1667, in which he made some preliminary statements on the subject of retrenchment in the navy.[5] He suggested a reduction in the number of the commissioners from ten to six, or at most seven, though he was disposed to resist any great reduction in their salaries, which should be sufficient to make the officers

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[1] The *Diary* for 10 Oct. 1666 contains a reference to this deficit in round figures: 'A debt declared by the navy, by us, 900,000*l.*' (vi. 14). Later on Pepys gave the navy debt to 25 May, 1667, as 'above 950,000*l.*' (vii. 56: 3 Aug. 1667).

[2] *Diary*, iv. 294 (25 Nov. 1664).

[3] Ranke, *History of England*, iii. 449–50; see also *Diary, passim.*

[4] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxi. 67.

[5] *Ib.* ccxiii. 65.

'value their employments, and not subject them to a necessity of base compliances with others to the king's prejudice, by which to get one shilling to himself he must lose ten to the king, and when he shall have once subjected himself to an inferior pleasure by such a falsehood, he never more dares act the part of a good officer, being by his former guilt become a slave to his inferior.' He also suggested a large reduction in the number of clerks of the survey, who have, by 'growth of business' and 'the negligence of the surveyors,' become almost like navy officers; the abolition of pursers in ships in harbour, except those of the first and second rates; and the closing of the yard at Harwich.

The duke's letter was followed up by the issue, on 27 August, 1667, of a more detailed scheme for retrenchment, suggested by Sir William Coventry, by which the charge of the navy was to be reduced to 200,000*l.* a year.[1] Some such limitation on naval expenditure had been talked of before the war,[2] and according to Pepys, in 1663 the king had 'resolved not to exceed' 200,000*l.* a year;[3] but the new scheme worked out the economies in detail. The charge of the navy in harbour was estimated at 76,010*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*, 'not comprehending the ordinary charge of seven second-rate ships and three third-rate ships now in building, which when built will cost in ordinary about 5,000*l.* more, so that in all the ordinary may be computed at about 80,000*l.* per annum.'[4] It was reckoned that 'upon the whole matter' 100,000*l.* per annum would 'maintain the ordinary and build and rig for his Majesty in every two years three ships of the third-rate;' and the remaining 100,000*l.* a year was assigned to 'setting ships to sea.' It was calculated that this would serve to maintain ten ships at sea during the winter, with 875 men, and twenty-four during the summer with 2,270 men, provided that money was always ready 'to pay off ships and workmen, and to buy all provisions at the best hand.'[1]

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[1] Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 528; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 420. On Coventry's connexion with it, see *Diary*, vii. 73.

[2] *Diary*, iii. 72 (21 March, 1662–3); iii. 138 (23 May, 1663); iii. 188 (30 June, 1663).

[3] *Ib.* iii. 72.

[4] Penn, ii. 528.

This scheme was adopted by order of the king in council, 16 March, 1668–9; but the policy of retrenchment on a great scale would have to be carried on for a long time before it could affect the accumulated masses of the navy debt, which had been estimated at the end of the war as 1,100,000*l.*[2] And as a matter of fact the naval expenditure of the next two or three years was not limited to the 200,000*l.* proposed, nor was ready money provided. At the end of 1669 the debt of the navy for services done and goods delivered amounted to 458,991*l.*, and the estimate for the year 1670 was 447,181*l.* more.[3] At the end of 1670 there was a debt from the preceding year of 138,773*l.* for repairs and completing works unfinished, towards which the treasurers of the navy had no ready money. The inevitable charge for the year 1671 was estimated at 513,354*l.*, and there were other expenses 'needful and for the most part already resolved on as such by his Majesty' amounting to 147,080*l.*; and towards this whole sum of 660,434*l.* the treasurers of the navy had received up to 24 May, 1671, only 110,000*l.*[4]

The materials in the Pepysian Library for estimating the financial effects of the third war with Holland are scanty, but such as they are they all point to shortness of money. We know from the State Papers that in 1671, before the war began, the navy office was still finding it difficult to pay its creditors, at any rate in ready cash.[1] Thos. Pointer of Ratcliff, writing on 13 April, 1671, to Pepys,[2] thanks him for having raised him from the dunghill, when in the lowest condition and worse than nothing, but complains that having lately laid out nearly 480*l.* for the service, he has had nothing but bills and tickets in return. On 1 May John Ruffhead, of Chatham,[3] craves the assistance of the navy commissioners to help him to raise money that he may be able to carry on his business and pay his men, most of whom have left to seek their bread where they can find money, since he is now out of purse near 4,000*l.* On 2 May, 1671,[4] Humphrey Pibus applies in the same quarter for speedy payment of the money disbursed at their request in 1666, for which he has since made several applications in vain; and in July of the same year Richard Dowson, the joiner at Deptford and Woolwich, petitions the Duke of York for 600*l.* due to him for nearly five years.[5] On 2 March, 1671–2, the commissioner at Portsmouth wrote to the navy board that if money and materials came not speedily the ships could not proceed, as he was nearly 1,000*l.* in debt on contracts to be paid on delivery,[6] and on 16 March he wrote, 'Without credit or ready money here's nothing to be had; our credit is very low, and therefore not to have any stress laid on it.'[7] At Deptford the anchorsmith had no iron left and no men at work, having neither money nor credit to buy iron or pay the workmen;[8] and at Chatham want of money appears to have hindered the plumber's work for the fleet.[9] On

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[1] Penn, ii. 529.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 471.

[3] Ordinary, 80,000*l.*; charge of the fleet of 50 ships manned with 5,279 men, 265,920*l.* 4*s.*; finishing new ships building, 17,200*l.*; extraordinary works, such as the repair of hulls of ships, wharves, docks, and storehouses in the several yards, 52,929*l.*; supplying the stores with the materials necessary for twelve months, 31,132*l.* (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* Addenda 1660-70, p. 205.)

[4] Ordinary, 70,240*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*; charge of the year's fleet manned with about 6,000 men, 312,000*l.* [*sic*]; finishing new ships, &c., 51,948*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; stores already ordered, 6,135*l.*; the total of inevitable charges being given at 513,354*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* The discrepancy of 73,030*l.* is probably due to a wrong entry in the second item. The expenditure desirable but not inevitable was on building three new third-rates, 30,091*l.* 9*s.*; on rebuilding two old ships, 24,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; on new wharves, storehouses, docks, &c., 77,322*l.*; and on an extraordinary provision of plank and hemp, 15,000*l.* (*ib.* 1671, p. 267).

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, pp. 72, 176, 178, 289; 1671–2, p. 3.

[2] *Ib.* 1671, p. 185.

[3] *Ib.* p. 213.

[4] *Ib.* p. 214.

[5] *Ib.* 1671, p. 407.

[6] *Ib.* 1671–2, p. 175.

[7] *S. P. Dom. Car II*, cccxxiii. 56

[8] *Ib.* p. 131.

[9] *Ib.* p. 160.

2 December, 1671,[1] Thomas Beckford, the slopseller to the navy, was praying for a payment on account of 10,000*l.* owing to him for clothes supplied, being in great straits for want of his money, and on 9 June, 1672,[2] he was still engaged in trying to get paid.[3] On 30 April, 1672, Pepys noted that the stores were wholly unprovided to answer the wants of the fleet after an engagement,[4] and the same view was expressed on 14 May by Anthony Deane.[5] That these pessimists were right was to be proved by the history of the naval operations of 1673. The comparative failure of the campaign was due to the fact that the fleet had been sent out insufficiently manned and equipped, and the want of men and materials for refitting speedily occasioned the loss of nearly six weeks in the best season of the year.[6]

These references in the State Papers for the years 1671–3 are followed by similar references in the Pepysian correspondence for the years 1673–9. As soon as the war came to an end, in February 1674, an attempt was made 'to lessen the growing charge in the navy, towards which no one particular seems more to conduce than that of reducing the number of the persons employed therein, both at sea and in the yards.'[7] The principal officers were therefore asked to make an estimate of the workmen that could be spared out of the yards, 'upon a supposition that moneys could be ready to discharge them,'[8] and apparently these were discharged.[9] Other economies were also practised. On 4 April, 1674, Pepys writes to Captain Bridgeman:[10] 'The intent of the king and my lords of the admiralty at present seems to be to bring down the charge of the navy as low as they can, so that it is not to be expected that many ships will for some time be kept abroad or any new ones set forth.' As ships came in they were at once paid off and laid up,[1] and it was decided to undertake no new works 'until his Majesty hath in some measure got over the debt which remains on him upon the old.'[2] Meanwhile the official correspondence for 1673–4 contains frequent references to the shortness of money. The Swan was delayed at Plymouth in January 1673–4 'from the unwillingness of the tradesmen to trust his Majesty further.'[3] Concerning a modest request from the company of the Nonsuch for some of their pay, Pepys wrote on 27 January, 'I know not whether the treasury of the navy be at present in a condition to help them with any;'[4] and a petition for wages from the seamen of the Pearl was only met on 20 November with an undertaking to 'lay the same before his Majesty and my lords.'[5] To the master attendant at Sheerness, who appears to have complained of his accommodation, Pepys could only offer a distant prospect of satisfaction. 'I am very sensible,' he writes on 24 November, 1674, 'of the inconveniences you must undergo till you have provision made on shore for your quartering, which all in good time I hope the king will be in condition of treasure to remedy; in the meantime I must recommend it to your patience to bear with them as well as you can.'[6] On 24 November, 1675, Pepys writes to one of his subordinates at Portsmouth, 'I do not see any great probability of the king's being in a condition to enlarge salaries;'[7] and on 13 February, 1676–7, he notes that the wages then due to the Queenborough yacht 'is said to be thirty-five or thirty-six months in arrear.'[8] On 22 December, 1677, Pepys reports from Sir John Kempthorne that 'the brewer at Portsmouth doth absolutely declare he will not provide any beer for the Rupert and Centurion till he is better assured of his payment than he now is.'[9] But in the beginning of the next year the vote of funds for preparations against France somewhat relieved the financial pressure. The Poll Bill finally passed on 20 March, 1677–8, and on the following day Pepys writes with an unusual access of cheerfulness: 'I do not despair but if money do competently come in, the work [of equipping the fleet of ninety ships] may be done (if diligently prosecuted on all hands on float, as well as by us on shore) so as may answer his Majesty's and the parliament's expectations and the occasions of the kingdom.'[1] But the improvement was only of short duration, for at the end of the year it was decided to 'split' the declaration of victuals, wages, and wear and tear for the ensuing year, and to 'require the present execution but of one moiety thereof,' in consequence of the 'straitness of his treasure under which his Majesty now lies.'[2] The letter reporting this to the navy board also alludes to the 'backwardness' of the victuallers in completing the contract of the current year, they having made declaration to Mr. Speaker 'of their total inability to carry on the service unless they might be better supported with money.' A few days later, in another letter to the navy board,[3] Pepys refers to one of the most wasteful consequences of a want of money, 'that mighty charge which has so long lain upon our hands for want of money wherewith to discharge those of the ships which remain yet unpaid off.'

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671–2, p. 3.

[2] *Ib.* 1672, p. 215.

[3] See also *ib.* 1673, pp. 72, 166, 177, 325.

[4] *Ib.* 1671–2, p. 396.

[5] *Ib.* p. 563.

[6] *Ib.* 1673, pp. x, 218, 333, 341, 510.

[7] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iii. 130 (S. P. to the navy board, 27 Feb. 1673–4).

[8] *Ib.*

[9] *Ib.* p. 143.

[10] *Ib.* p. 179. See also p. 188.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iii. p. 182.

[2] *Ib.* p. 186.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 49, 51, 52.

[4] *Ib.* p. 64.

[5] *Ib.* p. 396.

[6] *Ib.* p. 401.

Ib. iv. 293.

[8] *Ib.* v. 341.

[9] *Ib.* vi. 277.

Yet in spite of these references to shortness of money scattered up and down the official correspondence, there can be little doubt that the financial position of the navy greatly improved in the later years of the Restoration period; and this is shown in a statement of the navy debt from 1 January, 1671–2, to 25 March, 1686, which is to be found among the Pepysian papers.[4] If the totals here given are compared with the enormous arrears of 1665–6,[5] the change for the better will be clearly seen.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 471.

[2] *Ib.* viii. 364 (2 Dec. 1678).

[3] *Ib.* p. 403 (8 Dec. 1678).

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 18.

[5] See p. 101, *supra.*

A State of the Debt contracted in the Navy between 1 *January*, 1671 [-2] . . . *and* 25 *March* 1686, *and which remains at this day unpaid, according to the books in this office. . . .*

	There is due and owing	Before 6 Feb. 1684[-5]	Since 6 Feb. 1684[-5]	Total	Total of the 2 heads
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Upon Bills for	Stores and workmanship . .	6,266 11 9	21,921 12 5	28,188 4 2	78,914 0 7
	Disbursements	2,720 7 11	95 2 4	2,815 10 3	
	Pensions and half-pays to flag officers, commanders, and masters of 1st and 2nd rate ships, superannuated sea officers, and others	20,951 17 6	6,085 10 10	27,037 8 4	
	Salaries and rewards for services unto officers of the navy-yards, &c.	4,329 8 1	3,173 3 5	7,502 11 6	
	Rent of houses and ground, and for travelling charges	549 18 9	411 9 3	961 8 0	
	Pilotage of his Majesty's ships and vessels	18 7 3	334 15 6	353 2 9	
	Free gift to the chirurgeons of his Majesty's ships at sea towards providing medicaments for the ships' companies	788 18 6	175 0 9	963 19 3	
	Freight and transportation of stores from one place to another	518 15 0	172 10 4	691 5 4	
	Bounty to the widows and orphans of seamen slain in his Majesty's service at sea	71 6 4	26 8 0	97 14 4	
	Victuals—*i.e.* to the pursers of his Majesty's ships for the balances of their victualling accounts, and the money allowed them towards providing extraordinary necessaries for the diet of gentlemen who served as volunteers in his Majesty's ships at sea	9,783 7 8	519 9 0	10,302 16 8	
Upon Wages to	The ordinary and extraordinary of his Majesty's several dockyards, ropeyards, and guardships there	—	49,565 1 6	49,565 1 6	92,922 2 2
	The officers and seamen serving in his Majesty's ships now at sea, wherein is included the sum of 7,355*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* due to men discharged from the said ships on tickets entered in their course in this office and waiting for payment	6,194 3 8	33,056 14 11	39,250 18 7	
	Commanders and officers of ships formerly laid up and paid off, who have not yet received their due	2,305 5 0	21 13 6	2,326 18 6	
	Sundry seamen for service in his Majesty's ships formerly paid off on tickets, who are also entered in course in this office	1,779 3 7	—	1,779 3 7	
	Total . .	56,277 11 0	115,558 11 9	171,836 2 9	171,836 2 9

Memorandum.—There are many persons that have been discharged from ships formerly paid off, for whom tickets have not yet been brought to the office, and there are several accounts yet unadjusted upon some of the particular heads above mentioned, as also for victuals delivered to his Majesty's ships by the former contractors for victualling his Majesty's navy, and for slop-clothes put on board the said ships by the slopsellers to the navy. But what may be the value of the debt that will arise herefrom cannot be well computed until the said tickets be produced, and the foot of the several accounts be seen, and therefore we have not adventured to nominate any sum for it.

J. T. R. H. J. S.[1]

Navy Office at Towerhill,
25 January, 1686-7.

It appears from another paper of 22 February, 1686–7,[2] that after the accession of James II no less than 305,806*l.* was paid by the treasurer of the navy on account of debts incurred in Charles II's reign. Thus it is not surprising to find that both in the closing years of Charles II and in the earlier years of James II money was still difficult to get and the old complaints recur. Pepys himself on 21 June, 1684,[3] soon after he had resumed office, wrote to the store-keeper at Harwich, who had incautiously petitioned for an increase of salary, 'that such at this day is the state of his Majesty's treasury as that all motions for augmentation of salaries . . . have been rejected.' On 16 January, 1684–5,[4] he writes of the great want of money which he finds, 'to his great affliction,' in every part of the service of the navy; and on 30 April, 1685,[5] he alludes to 'the present low state of the king's treasure.' On 11 March, 1684–5, no less than 15,294*l.* was due for arrears of wages to the yachts alone.[6]

The manuscript volume entitled *Naval Precedents*[7] contains a detailed estimate of the annual charge of the navy for the year 1684, from which several interesting particulars may be obtained. The total estimated expense of 'his Majesty's navy in harbour' for that year was 135,084*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*

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[1] John Tippetts, Richard Haddock, and James Sotherne, the commissioners for adjusting the old accounts.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 20.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 34.

[4] *Ib.* p. 272. [5] *Ib.* p. 457. [6] *Ib.* xi. 467.

[7] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, p. 402.

The charges under the general head of salaries include 1,000*l.* a year each to the seven admiralty commissioners, 3,000*l.* to the treasurer of the navy, and 500*l.* to each of the other principal officers and the four extra commissioners. The assistant to the comptroller (Hayter) had 400*l.* a year. The charges for 'clerks and instruments,' also included under the same head, are considerable. The treasurer was allowed 800*l.* for his clerks; the comptroller had two clerks at 80*l.* and four at 30*l.*; the surveyor had one at 80*l.* and one at 30*l.*, and an 'extraordinary clerk' at 30*l.*; the clerk of the acts had two at 80*l.* and two at 30*l.*, besides an extraordinary clerk at 50*l.*; the commissioner for the victualling accounts had one at 80*l.* and one at 30*l.*; the commissioner for the accounts of stores had one at 80*l.*, two at 50*l.*, and two at 30*l.*; the commissioners at Chatham and Portsmouth had each two 30*l.* clerks; and there were two clerks engaged at the ticket office, one at 80*l.* and the other at 30*l.* The staff of the navy office included a messenger at 50*l.*, a housekeeper at 40*l.*, and a 'labourer to goe on errants' at 12*l.* Boat hire to one clerk of each principal officer and commissioner was estimated at 40*l.* The same head included 560*l.* for the rent of the new navy office, 160*l.* for the rent of Derby House, and two large miscellaneous items—'parish duties and taxes for the navy office and treasury office, as also for books, pens, ink, firing, &c.,' 950*l.*, and 'the like to Derby House,' 170*l.* We also find 200*l.* 'for charges of law suits and in prosecution of debtors,' and an allowance of 10*l.* 'for killing ratts in his Majesty's storehouses at his yards at Deptford and Woolwich.' The total estimate under this head was 19,030*l.*

The second head brought together 'other ordinary charges' and 'yearly pensions.' The first included 469*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* to the 'lieutenant-admiral of the narrow seas' at 20*s. per diem*, with 10*s. per mensem* for 16 servants; the salary of 500*l.* paid to the secretary to the lord high admiral; 182*l.* 10*s.* paid to the judge advocate at 10*s.* a day; 100*l.* to the chirurgeon of the navy, with 'more per order,' 161*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* The yearly pensions included 500*l.* by privy seal to Sir John Werden, and 50*l.* to Elizabeth Fowler; 500*l.* by patent for life to Lady Harman, and 219*l.* to Sir Roger Strickland; pensions to nine seamen and soldiers wounded in the West Indies, at sums varying from 5*l.* to 8*l.*; and various payments to superannuated officers—91*l.* 5*s.* to Peter Belbin, the master of a first-rate; 39*l.* 2*s.* to Whitney Parry, a gunner; 56*l.* 3*s.* to John Hodges, a master; 219*l.* to Captain John Hart, '2nd-rate's pay;' 61*l.* 1*s.* to Robert Chambers, master of a third-rate; 50*l.* to Captain John Crab; 56*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* to Henry Southwood, a superannuated master of a fourth-rate, under an order of 3 July, 1683; the same to Richard Norris; 48*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to Paul Bash, a superannuated chirurgeon of a fourth-rate; and, included under the same head, a fee of 370*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* to Arthur Herbert, Esq., as rear-admiral of England, at 16*s.* *per diem* and 10*s.* *per mensem* each for twelve servants. The charges under this second head amounted altogether to 3,800*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.*

The third head, amounting to 7,929*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, includes the expenses of the yards. The facts can be conveniently brought together into tabular form [see next page], as they throw some light on the relative importance of the different yards at the time.

Under 'officers of the outports' the following sums are included:—25*l.* to the storekeeper at Harwich; 50*l.* to the agent at Plymouth and his clerk; 40*l.* to the clerk of the check and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the master shipwright at Kinsale; 10*l.* for a warehouse and 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for an agent at Deal; and 200*l.* for a storekeeper and muster-master at Lisbon and his clerks—total, 345*l.* The charge for wages paid to the officers and men for the ships laid up in ordinary was estimated at 32,397*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*; harbour victuals, reckoned at 6*d.* a man *per diem*, 14,381*l.*; harbour moorings, 19,007*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*; 'allowance for graving and other ordinary repairs of his Majesty's ships, docks, buildings

—		Chatham	Deptford	Woolwich	Portsmouth	Sheerness
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Clerk of the check	Salary	120 0 0	80 0 0	70 0 0	80 0 0	80 0 0
	Paper money	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
	Clerks	120 0 0	104 0 0	80 0 0	110 0 0	30 0 0
Storekeeper	Salary	100 0 0	144 18 4	70 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
	Paper money	6 0 0	7 0 0	2 0 0	5 0 0	1 0 0
	Clerks	154 0 0	154 0 0	104 0 0	154 0 0	30 0 0
Master shipwright	Salary	113 0 0	113 0 0	113 0 0	113 0 0	113 0 0
	Exchequer fee	18 5 0	18 5 0	18 5 0	18 5 0	18 5 0
	Clerk	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	—
His assistant[1]	Salary	70 0 0 50 0 0	70 0 0	—	46 10 0	—
	House rent	10 0 0	—	—	—	—
Clerk of the survey	Salary	100 0 0	60 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
	Paper money	6 0 0	4 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
	Clerks	50 0 0	50 0 0	30 0 0	50 0 0	30 0 0
	House rent	10 0 0	—	—	—	—
Clerk of the ropeyard	Salary	70 0 0	—	70 0 0	60 0 0	—
	Clerk	24 0 0	—	24 0 0	24 0 0	—
	House rent	10 0 0	—	—	—	—
	Keeping the clock and looking to the gate	—	—	9 0 0	—	—
Porter	Salary	18	13 6 8	13 6 8	17 10 0	17 10 0
	Keeping the clock	3 6 8	4 0 0	3 0 0		
Master attendant	Salary	100 0 0	144 18 4	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
	Clerk	24 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	—
	House rent	—	—	10 0 0	—	—
His assistant		80 0 0	—	—	—	—
Master ropemaker		44 0 0	—	50 0 0	44 0 0	—
Master blockmaker		—	—	32 12 1	31 6 0	31 6 0
Master caulker		7 0 0	32 12 1	—	46 10 0	46 10 0
Master boatmaker		163 5 0	32 12 1	—	31 6 0	—
Master mastmaker			32 12 1	—	42 12 1	—
Master joiner			31 6 0	—	31 6 0	31 6 0
Master pumpmaker			—	—	—	—
Master house-carpenter			31 6 0	—	31 6 0	31 6 0
Master bricklayer		31 6 8	31 6 0	—	—	—
Boatswain of the yard		60 0 0	60 0 0	60 0 0	60 0 0	40 0 0
Minister of the navy (besides his groats)		9 15 0	—	—	9 15 0	—
Chirurgeon of the ordinary (besides his twopences)		30 8 4	30 8 4	30 8 4	28 13 10[2]	28 13 10[2]
Chirurgeon of the extraordinary		26 1 8	—	—	—	—
Purveyor		—	60 0 0	60 0 0	—	—
Commander of the boats		136 17 6	—	—	136 17 6	—
Watchmen, at 12*d.* a man per night		292 0 0	255 10 0	146 0 0	255 10 0	—
Warders on Sundays		4 4 0	8 8 0	4 4 0	6 6 0	—
Commissioner for paper and firing		12 0 0	—	—	12 0 0	—
Messenger to the treasury office		—	18 5 0	—	—	—
Porters of the treasury office (2)		—	30 18 4	—	—	—
Watch lights		40 0 0	0 16 0	—	24 0 0	—
Keeping the plug		6 0 0	9 2 6	6 1 8	5 0 0	—
Bargemaster, and rent of the barge-house for the navy board		—	6 0 0	—	—	—
Ditto for the barge belonging to the treasurer of the navy		—	6 0 0	—	—	—
Rent of Mr. Laurence's ground		19 0 0	—	—	—	—
Queenborough yacht		—	—	—	—	64 10 7
Nicholas Tetershall, for his pension as commander of a ship of the 5th rate at 6*s.* *per diem* for himself, and 14*s.* a month for his servant		—	118 12 6	—	—	—
Hire of a graving place		—	8 0 0	—	—	—
Total		2,236 14 10	1,829 13 3 [*sic*]	1,217 0 3 [*sic*]	1,795 13 5 [*sic*]	850 7 5

There were two at Chatham.

[2] At 22*d.* each working day.

in the several yards,' 35,310*l.*; and, last of all, 'pensions and half-pays borne on the charge of the navy,' including 200*l.* to 'one of his Majesty's sworn apothecaries,' 2,882*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* These sums together profess to make up the total 135,084*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* given above, but the casting is full of small inaccuracies.

Such was the estimate of the ordinary for 1684. When the estimates for 1685 came to be made—and these cannot have differed greatly from those of 1684—the Duke of York, Pepys tells us,[1] was 'pleased to concern himself with much care and no little personal pains to consider what reasonable retrenchments of charge may be made therein at a time when no good husbandry or saving can be too great, or (I fear) great enough, to enable the king (as the state of his treasure seems at this day to be) to answer the many other and great occasions of expense necessarily requiring regard to be had to, even for the preservation of his navy from ruin.' The suggestions made were: (1) a 'moderate abatement' of the number of persons borne in ordinary, and (2) the 'putting an end to that most unaccountable increase of charge' for moorings, 'concerning which,' continues Pepys, 'I cannot enough express to you the astonishment I am under to find so monstrous an imposure put upon the king for above 20 years together, to the costing the crown by a moderate valuation above 100,000*l.*, without having so much as one word offered or pretended to be offered by the officers of the navy, and more especially the surveyor, in justification of it. . . . I say I am put beyond all measure of wonder to think that so chargeable and visible a mismanagement should be introduced, continued, and still maintained without one syllable rendered either in defence or excuse of it, but that which certainly could never be given by men who put any price upon the reputation of being thought either sincere or prudent in the management of such a trust as is lodged in the office of the navy, namely, that they found it so (though at the same time some of them do well remember when it was otherwise) and were unwilling to alter it. I may perhaps appear to say this to you in too earnest a style, but I must confess to you I cannot think of it with so little indignation as to be able to mention it more gently, especially when I consider of what value 100,000*l.* would be to the king and his crown at this time in the business of the navy.' A month later[1] Pepys followed up this reflection upon the admiralty commission of 1679–84 by declaring his conviction of the 'great excess of the number of the present ordinary in every yard.' According to him a great number of men in the yards were doing very little—the master attendant being chiefly to blame—and it was 'most clear that should all the ordinary do their duties, there would be twice as many working men, or rather four times the number, at the master attendant's call which he himself proposes to have, without the help of one hand from the guard-ships. But if the king shall think fit not to expect work from them, or that such be entertained as are not able to do the work,[2] their number would not suffice for it, were they three times as many as they be.' Apparently the ordinary was reduced,[3] and on 7 February, 1684–5, we find Pepys suggesting a further retrenchment by 'putting the whole night duty of the guard-boats upon the commanders and companies of the guard-ships' at Chatham and Portsmouth, instead of manning them from the ordinary. This was carried out, as appears below,[4] in October of the same year.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 267 (letter to Sir John Godwin, 10 Jan. 1684–5).

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 311 (4 Feb. 1684–5).

[2] Hollond had complained in 1638 of 'boys, gromets, decayed old men, and logies or useless men' borne on the ordinary of the navy (*Discourses of the Navy*, p. 14).

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 318 and 321.

[4] See p. 209, *infra.*

3. *Men*

Sir Robert Slyngesbie, Charles II's first comptroller, attempted in his *Discourse of the Navy* to consider 'the causes of the present confusion' of the navy office, and he placed first, as 'the great cause of all,' the large arrears of pay due to the seamen.[1] It is true that Slyngesbie's immediate reference was to men in ships in harbour, and writing in 1660 when the seamen were 'solicitors to be admitted into the service,'[2] he did not foresee the later effects of want of pay. The fact remains, however, that the officers of the navy were grievously hampered from time to time during the period 1660–1688 by the deficiency of men both in the dockyards and at sea; and that this deficiency was mainly, if not entirely, due to the scandalous failures of the administration in the matter of pay.

The state of things during the second Dutch war was appalling. As every reader of the *Diary* knows, it contains pitiable stories of poor seamen starving in the streets because there was no money to pay their wages;[3] and Pepys was not a tender-hearted bystander contemplating exceptional misery, but a hardened official, who was only now and then betrayed, in spite of himself, into sympathy with sufferings to which he must have been daily accustomed. We hear of wages three quarters of a year,[4] twenty-two,[5] twenty-six, thirty-four,[6] and even fifty-two[1] months in arrear. One captain complains that for want of pay, 'instead of a young commander, he is rendered an old beggar.'[2] The crews of two ships petition the navy board to order them their pay 'that their families may not be altogether starved in the streets, and themselves go like heathens having nothing to cover their nakedness.'[1] The commissioner at Portsmouth writes of workmen in the yard there, that they are turned out of doors by their landlords, and perish more like dogs than men.[3] Naturally enough, this state of things affected discipline. The crews of the Little Victory and the Pearl at Hull mutinied for want of pay, and refused to weigh anchor,[4] and in the yards the workmen gave a great deal of trouble. The Chatham shipwrights and caulkers, to whom two years' wages were owing, marched up to London to appeal to the navy board, as 'their families are denied trust, and cannot subsist,' and under this pressure arrangements were made 'to pay off some of the most disorderly.'[5] The men also refused to work at Woolwich.[5] At Chatham the commissioner writes that he is almost torn to pieces by the workmen of the yard for their weekly pay.[6]

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[1] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy*, p. 345.

[2] *Ib.* p. 352.

[3] *Diary*, v. 107. 'Did business, though not much, at the office; because of the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen that lie starving in the streets for lack of money. Which do trouble and perplex me to the heart; and more at noon when we were to go through them, for then a whole hundred of them followed us; some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to us' (7 Oct. 1665). See also v. 6 (6 July, 1665); v. 98 (30 Sept. 1665); v. 133 (31 Oct. 1665); vi. 220 (12 March, 1666–7).

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664–5, p. 304.

[5] *Ib.* 1667, p. 46.

[6] *Ib.* p. 75.

At Portsmouth Sir John Mennes writes on 14 July, 1665, for money to be sent immediately to stop the 'bawlings and impatience of these people, especially of their wives, whose tongues are as foul as the daughters of Billingsgate.'[7] Apparently the money did not come, and in October Commissioner Middleton was forced to lend the men ten shillings apiece to keep them from mutiny.[8] A fortnight later a mutiny actually broke out, but the commissioner showed praiseworthy promptitude in dealing with it. He seized 'a good cudgel' out of the hands of one of the men, and took more pains in the use of it than in any business for the last twelve months, clapped three others in the stocks for some hours, and from thence to prison, where they will continue. He has not been troubled since.[1] On 27 October, 1666, the situation in London was so serious that a letter was sent from the navy office to the officers of the ordnance, signed by Pepys, Mennes, and Batten, praying for 'twelve well-fixed firelocks with a supply of powder and bullet' 'for the defence of the said office,' the commissioners of the navy being of opinion that 'the present great refractoriness and tumultuousness of the seamen' make it needful that the navy office 'should be provided with arms for its defence and security against any outrage in case of a mutiny.'[2]

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. lx. note. See also p. 514.
[2] *Ib.* 1665–6, p. 385. [3] *Ib.* 1664–5, p. 522. [4] *Ib.* 1667, p. 75.
[5] *Ib.* 1667–8, p. xiv. [6] *Ib.* p. 443. [7] *Ib.* 1664–5, p. 475
[8] *Ib.* 1665–6, p. 32.

At the close of the war the scarcity of money was such that the dockyard authorities were sometimes compelled to allow their men to go for a time into the employment of private merchants, that they might earn money to enable them to buy bread.[3] The delay in the payment both of seamen and dockyard labourers also involved the government in much needless expense, for it appeared impossible to discharge surplus men without paying them off, and thus ships had to be kept in commission longer than was really required. So serious was the waste on this account that the men were eventually discharged without payment of their arrears.[4] And as the peace did not much improve the financial position of the navy, it did not put an end to the disorders. The State Papers for the year 1671 in particular are full of references to the want of pay and the troubles occasioned thereby, especially in the yards. On 11 March, 1671, Jonas Shish wrote from Deptford to the navy commissioners, 'The shipwrights and caulkers are very much enraged by reason that their wages is not paid them. The last night the whole street next the king's yard, both of men and women, was in an uproar, and meeting with Mr. Bagwell, my foreman, they fell on him, and it was God's great mercy they had not spoiled him. I was then without the gate at my son's house, and hearing the tumult, I did think how Israel stoned Hadoram that was over the tribute and King Rehoboam made speed and gat him up to fly to Jerusalem, so I gat speedily into the king's yard, for I judge if the rude multitude had met with me I should have had worse measure than my foreman.'[1] On 9 August Commissioner John Cox wrote from Chatham that he doubted the shipwrights' willingness to perform their duty on any urgent occasion, they being much unsatisfied for want of money to subsist;[2] and in November the dissatisfaction culminated in a kind of strike, in which the workmen threatened to go to London and demand their money in person, and were only with difficulty persuaded to resume work.[3]

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1665–6, p. 53.

[2] Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, part ii. (Hodgkin Papers), p. 167.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. xv. See also *ib.* 1667, pp. 101, 106.

[4] *Ib.* 1667–8, p. xvi.

In view of these facts it is not surprising to find that during the second war with Holland the organisation for supplying men broke down. The first order for a press made before the war is dated 7 June, 1664,[4] and at the time there was no scarcity of mariners.[5] A little later an attempt was made to encourage volunteers, after the manner of the Commonwealth,[6] by a royal proclamation ordering that seamen, whether serving in the king's ships or merchantmen, should receive 10*s*. per ton burden on all prizes taken by them, 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. for each piece of ordnance, and 10*l.* a gun for every man-of-war sunk or destroyed, also the pillage of all merchandise upon or above the gun deck. The proclamation also called attention to the fact that care would be taken for the sick and wounded and widows, and that medals would be given for eminent service.[1] On or about 28 October, 1664, an embargo was also laid upon shipping, except East Indiamen, vessels carrying fish abroad, and those trading from port to port.[2] In spite of this the supply of men was at first insufficient to man the fleet properly.[3] The fleet of 1666 seems to have been well manned[4] by means of a strict use of the right to press,[5] but Pepys notes that in the city of London at any rate the men were pressed 'contrary to all course of law without press money;'[6] and men were also pressed that were 'not liable to it,' 'poor patient labouring men and housekeepers.'[7]

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[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxcvii. 19.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 423.

[3] *Ib.* p. 578. For other instances in this year of the want of money and its effects see pp. 112, 126, 176, 179, 293, 325, 327, 331, 348, 350, 355, 361, 369, 494, 535, 548, 562, 567, 578.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663–4, p. 607.

[5] *Ib.* p. 597.

[6] A new scheme for prize money had been established from 1 Jan. 1653, which was practically the same as that described in the text (Oppenheim, p. 309). On the Commonwealth arrangements for the sick and wounded see Mr. Oppenheim (*ib.* p. 320). Medals were first given to the ordinary seamen by the Long Parliament (*ib.* p. 328).

One result of this indiscriminate application of the press, which was forced on the navy board by the difficulty of getting men, was that the material supplied was often of the poorest kind. Commissioner Middleton, writing from Portsmouth on 29 March, 1666,[8] tells Pepys that he is ashamed to see such pressed men as are sent from Devonshire—one with the falling sickness and a lame arm; another with dead palsy on one side and not any use of his right arm. A year later he makes similar complaints from Chatham of the pressed men supplied by

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[1] The Order in Council for printing and distributing the king's declaration for the encouragement of seamen and marines is dated 28 Oct. 1664 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664–5, p. 46). In the third Dutch war a different kind of inducement was offered—a bounty of six weeks' pay to able seamen volunteering in first and second rates, and one month's pay [MS. 'some months' pay'] in third-rates. At the end of the voyage also they were exempted from being turned over to another ship (Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 336).

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664–5, pp. 56, 113. The exception in favour of fish ships was withdrawn 16 Dec. (*ib.* p. 114).

[3] *Ib.* p. 62.

[4] *Diary*, v. 372 (23 July, 1666).

[5] *Ib.* v. 347 (30 June, 1666).

[6] *Ib.* v. 349–51 (1 and 2 July, 1666).

[7] *Ib.* v. 350.

[8] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1665–6, p. 323.

Watermen's Hall. 'The Masters of Watermen's Hall are good Christians, but very knaves; they should be ordered to send down ten or twelve old women to be nurses to the children they send for the king to breed for them.'[1] It is clear that the principal cause of this scarcity of men was the want of money to pay them,[2] especially during the later years of the war. Men refused to enter the service 'to serve for nothing and let their families starve at home,'[3] 'thousands of them' being 'resolved rather to be torn to pieces than ever to serve again.'[4] English prisoners refused to return to England and took service in Holland,[5] and Pepys reports that when the Dutch came up the Medway many Englishmen were heard speaking to each other in English on board their ships.[6] This condition of things also reacted upon the discipline of the English fleet.[7]

On the outbreak of the third Dutch war in the spring of 1672 the same difficulties recurred, although in a less exaggerated form. The State Papers for 1672 and 1673 are not nearly so full of complaints as in the earlier years, and when the story is taken up in 1673 by the official correspondence in the Pepysian Library, though the references to arrears of pay and the necessity for the press are numerous, they do not disclose the same scandalous state of affairs as prevailed during the earlier war. Early in 1672 complaints came up from Portsmouth of the want of money to pay conduct money to the pressed seamen and wages to the pressed workmen in the yard.[1] An estimate by the navy board, dated 1 June of the same year, includes a sum of 30,000*l.* for 'paying the yards to last Lady Day, which ought to be done in two weeks for preventing their expectation of another quarter's payment which will be due the 30th,'[2] and the same paper shows that the wages of the Straits fleet were in arrear to the amount of 64,000*l.* A petition of 19 May, 1673, from the workmen of the yard at Portsmouth is more in the old tone, stating that the petitioners have 'almost five quarters' pay due to them, and that they cannot be trusted for provisions to subsist themselves and their poor families,' by reason that the people who gave them trust hitherto are become themselves unable to buy wherewith to furnish them, 'their stocks being already decayed, likewise his Majesty's taxes are now collecting,' and 'your poor petitioners know not what shift in the world to make.'[3] On 2 June, Silas Taylor, the storekeeper at Harwich, complains of large arrears of salary, adding 'I have no money, my credit is distasted,' and prays the navy board not to impose impossibilities on him—an effusion which was endorsed by implacable officials, 'Storekeeper unmannerly retorting on the board.'[4] Finally, among the official correspondence in the Pepysian Library, we come upon an urgent communication from the lords commissioners of the admiralty to the lord treasurer, dated 15 December, 1673, which recalls the days of the

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. xv. As late as 1742 Captain John Hamilton reports the pressing of a lime-burner who was nearly blind, and 'a little old cobbler of 56, taken out of his stall rather it should seem for pastime than service;' and letters of 1747 show that the pressing of mere lads, or of persons not able-bodied, was a subject of 'general and constant complaint' (Public Record Office, *Captains' Letters*, H 12; *Secretary's Letters*, 3). In 1864 or 1865 a 'man' who weighed 70 lbs. was sent on board the Prince Consort at Spithead.

[2] *Diary*, vi. 389 (25 June, 1667); vii. 75 (22 Aug.); vii. 259 (31 Dec.). See also vi. 120 (2 Jan. 1666–7). 'We have orders to end all the ships we can possible to the Downs. God have mercy on us! for we can send forth no ships without men, nor will men go without money, every day bringing us news of new mutinies among the seamen; so that our condition is like to be very miserable.'

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxxxix. 114.

[4] *Ib.* ccxxxvii. 51. See also *Diary*, vii. 381 (28 March, 1668).

[5] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 323.

[6] When the Dutch came up the Medway, an eye-witness told Pepys that he 'did hear many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships speaking to one another in English, and that they did cry and say: "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars" (*Diary*, vi. 366, 14 June, 1667).

[7] *Diary*, vi. 29 (20 Oct. 1666); vi. 40 (28 Oct.); vi. 47 (1 Nov.).

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671–2, pp. 138–9, 175, 179.

[2] *Ib.* 1672, p. 137.

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxlv. 76.

[4] *Ib.* cccxlvi. 9.

Diary, when Pepys and his colleagues ordered in firelocks and went in fear of their lives.[1] The commissioners represent it to be 'of utmost importance to his Majesty that some immediate provision be made of a weekly sum of money for the discharge of' tickets, because of 'the disorder wherein the seamen concerned in the payment of the tickets at this time are, to the threatening the pulling down of his Majesty's office and the embezzlement or spoil of all the books and papers there, besides the yet more public effects thereof to the dishonour of his Majesty's service and discouragement of seamen against the next year.'[2]

The operations of the press at the outbreak of the third Dutch war began as early as 9 January, 1671–2, with an order for the pressing of 1,000 watermen, and from February onwards the State Papers are full of notices of the press all over England.[3] On 6 April all protections were withdrawn,[4] but nevertheless on 18 May there was still a great want of men for the fleet;[5] and although on 22 May an embargo of 7 February which had been laid on all vessels trading from the kingdom was removed by proclamation, and all passes and protections for ships granted by the Duke of York were restored to full force,[6] pressing seems to have gone on steadily, at any rate up to the middle of the year.[7] In 1673 there were several complaints of the shortness of seamen at the time that the fleet was going out. On 4 March Commissioner Deane complained in a letter from Portsmouth, where ships were then fitting for sea, that the sailors were 'very touchy,' and 'if they be not presently paid' their bounty 'away they go in disgust.'[8] On 10 May, Prince Rupert wrote that the French Ruby, Stavoreen, St. George, Rainbow, Unicorn, Sovereign,

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[1] See p. 119, *supra.*

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 399.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671–2, pp. xi. 75, 136, 141, 183, 288, 300, 315, 321, 346, 347, 363, 463, 514, 577.

[4] *Ib.* p. 288.

[5] *Ib.* 1672, p. 9.

[6] *Ib.* p. 38.

[7] *Ib.* 47, 53–4, 61, 138, 282, 369.

[8] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxlii. 21.

Triumph, Swiftsure, and Victory, 'the smaller I will not reckon, though I could name above a leash,' 'visibly want seamen to stand to their guns and tackle;'[1] and on 30 May Sir C. Lyttelton referred to the want of 3,000 seamen as one of the urgent needs of the fleet.[2] This was in spite of a general press of seamen[3] and watermen[4] in London ordered in April, and an embargo from 12 May to 25 July on all merchant ships in the port of London and the river Thames except those going to Tangier.[5] On 4 July also a warrant was sent to the Governor of Dover Castle for pressing seamen within the liberties of the Cinque Ports.[6] There were still a few complaints of the quality of the men pressed. Two watermen are described as 'little children and never at sea before' who could not be suffered 'to pester the ship.'[7]

Later on, when the Revolution was impending, and the necessity arose for suddenly strengthening the fleet in the Downs, the efforts of Pepys and his subordinates were seriously hampered by the deficiency of men. This very early attracted the attention of the king. On 10 September, 1688, Pepys wrote,[8] 'by his Majesty's express command just now given,' to require of Sir Roger Strickland a complete return of the number of men on board the squadron in the Downs, and their distribution among the several ships, 'which being a matter wherein his Majesty is pleased very much to concern himself, as that whereon his service must in the success of it principally depend, and that therefore it is of importance to him timely to know how it stands with him in relation thereto, I am again to entreat you not to let a minute be lost in your hastening your return hereto by express.' A similar return was required from Chatham, Deptford, and Woolwich dockyards, where ships were fitting out,[1] and an account was to be sent to the admiralty by every post of the progress made in manning the ships.[2] At first it was hoped that ordinary means would suffice to bring the crews up to their full war complement,[3] but at length the king was obliged to authorise the use of the press.[4] For this purpose, in addition to the ordinary press warrants sent to the captains of the ships requiring to be manned, arrangements were made with the Fishermen's and Watermen's Companies for the supply of men. The Fishermen employed six of their smacks in pressing men for the navy, and the Watermen supplied 200 men with some knowledge of the sea.[5] Later on the Watermen's Company was called upon for 200 more, and, though the Rulers made 'great difficulty of finding so many without sending for them into the west country,'[6] the men were eventually supplied within a week.[7] This led to a further requisition of 100 men, which was also met.[8] The quality of the men thus furnished appears to have been very unsatisfactory. The Watermen's Company sent 'very raw young men,' and the Fishermen were accused of 'raking up from all ends of the town, and that most scandalously, persons of all sorts but that only which they should be of, namely, fishermen, or at least seamen.'[9] But the need was great[10] and the men were accepted. The deficiency seems to have been in part supplied from the land army. Soldiers from Rochester were employed to assist in navigating the Rupert from Chatham, where she had been refitting, into the Hope;[11]

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[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxxxv. 152. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, pp. 221, 394.

[2] *Ib.* p. 315.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 176, 191.

[4] *Ib.* p. 184.

[5] *Ib.* pp. 238, 459.

[6] *Ib.* p. 423.

[7] 13 April, 1673. *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxliii. 141. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 228.

[8] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xiv. 407.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xiv. 407, 409. [2] *Ib.* xv. 32, 65.
[3] *Ib.* xv. 10. [4] *Ib.* xv. 35 (24 Sept.). See also pp. 39, 40, 141.
[5] *Ib.* xv. 89-90, 115-6. [6] *Ib.* xv. 135-6 (11 Oct.).
[7] *Ib.* xv. 178-9, 184 (16 Oct.).
[8] *Ib.* xv. 294 (3 Nov.). [9] *Ib.* xv. 360.

[10] We find Pepys excusing a zealous captain who had pressed riggers from the king's own yard at Chatham, on the ground that he did so 'at a juncture wherein his so doing was of so much importance to the king that it would almost excuse the carrying away a priest from the altar' (*ib.* xv. 245)

[11] *Ib.* xv. 23, 63.

the Plymouth and Dreadnought were brought out of Portsmouth to join the fleet with the aid of thirty soldiers each from the garrison there;[1] and 318 soldiers, some from the Tower and others from Rochester, were put on board the fleet 'towards the helping' of its 'manning.'[2]

'It can never be well in the navy,' wrote Pepys on 5 September, 1680,[3] 'till the poor seamen can be paid once in a year at furthest, and tickets answered like bills of exchange; whereas at this very day . . . ships are kept out two or three years, and four of them just now ordered forth again only for want of money, after being brought in to be paid off.' A little later he notes the effect of this upon discipline,[4] and comments on the 'unreasonable hardship' entailed by 'the general practice of our navy' 'of paying those ships off first where the least sum clears the most men; those who have served longest, and therefore need their pay most, being postponed to those who have served least.'[5] In a maturer reflection made after his retirement, dated December 1692,[6] Pepys still places the 'length and badness of the payment of the seaman's wages' first among his 'discouragements.' This, together with 'their ill-usage from commanders, and want of permission to help themselves in intervals of public service by a temporary liberty of earning a penny in the merchant's,' are 'discouragements that I cannot think anything can be proposed of temptations of other kinds sufficient to reconcile them to.' Nevertheless Pepys claimed for the special commission of 1686 credit for more punctual payments during the time they held office. 'Not a penny left unpaid,' he writes in the *Memoirs*,[7] 'to any officer, seaman, workman, artificer, or merchant for any service done in, or commodity delivered to the use of, the navy either at sea or on shore, within the whole time of this commission, where the party claiming the same was in the way to receive it.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xv. 87–8, 92 (4 Oct.).
[2] *Ib.* xv. 91 (4 Oct.).
[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 24.
[4] *Ib.* p. 39.
[5] *Ib.* p. 71.
[6] *Ib.* p. 287.
[7] Pepys, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*, p. 148.

To supplement these particular instances from the State Papers, a good deal of information is afforded by the Pepysian manuscripts that bears on the general principles governing the application of the right to press. The right to press sailors was a prerogative inherent in the crown, and this was not called in question ; but the application of it was always unpopular, and it was not exercised, at any rate during the time that Pepys was secretary to the admiralty, except under the pressure of necessity. On 9 June, 1677, Pepys, in refusing on the king's behalf a continuation of press warrants to certain captains who desired to have 'liberty granted them to continue their pressing of men, in order not to increase but better their present complements,' refers to the 'clamour' which would be 'raised' upon it, 'as if the pressing of men and interruption of trade thereby were unnecessarily continued,'[1] and similar allusions are frequent throughout the correspondence. It is clear that the council was reluctant to press, and its members always had public opinion before their eyes.[2] The right to press seamen was as a rule reserved for time of war. In time of peace it was used very sparingly,[3] and on foreign voyages only,[4] nor was it regarded as 'a laudable thing' to need it,[5] though special circumstances might render it necessary. Thus in September 1677 the number of desertions was so great that press warrants were issued in time of peace to enable commanders to repair their losses ;[6] and again at the close of the same year a memorial, dated 5 December, 1677, was presented by the lords of the admiralty to the council table urging the necessity of a press for the Mediterranean fleet, 'whose commanders, after all means used for gaining of volunteers, do declare their incapacity of manning the said ships (through the greatness of the employment and height of wages given by the merchants at this day) without power of impresting.'[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 52. See also iii. 66; vi. 330, *et passim*.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 237 ; viii. 124, *et passim*.

[3] *Ib.* v. 399.

[4] *Ib.* iv. 272.

[5] *Ib.* iii. 362.

[6] *Ib.* vi. 178, 181.

Before the pressing of seamen could begin, the case for the use of the press had to be considered in the privy council, and a warrant issued from the council to the lords of the admiralty empowering them to give authority by warrant to individual captains to make up their complements by this means.[2] But other persons also received press warrants and were recognised as authorities for this purpose. The proceedings of 1673 may be taken as typical. In that year men were requisitioned from Watermen's Hall, collected by the Rulers of the Hall at the Tower, and shipped on board vessels under the guard of soldiers, until they could be sent where the service required.[3] At the same time men pressed in the west country were collected at Plymouth by the Vice-Admiral of Devon,[4] and warrants were issued through the navy board authorising 'some bargemen to press upon the River about Windsor, Henley, and Reading,' care being taken to place the warrants 'into the discreetest of the hands you can choose for the execution of them.'[5] In 1678 we find proposals for a contract for pressing allowed by the king and the lords of the admiralty, subject to the approval of the navy board, though it is not clear whether it was actually signed and put into practice.[6]

Seamen were not often pressed except in time of war, but it must not be forgotten that artificers and labourers were liable to be pressed into the service of the navy in time of peace also. The victuallers had been 'in all times' authorised, by virtue of a special clause in their contract, to press 'workmen and carriages of all sorts.'[1] Under a statute passed at the beginning of the reign[2] carriages and horses might be taken by warrant of the lord high admiral, or two principal officers of the navy, or the master or lieutenant of ordnance, acting through two justices of the peace in the localities concerned, for the transport of timber and other provisions for the navy or ordnance by land, at a fixed rate of 1*s.* a load per mile for timber and 8*d.* a ton per mile for other provisions; and under the same statute ships and hoys could be pressed for water carriage at the customary freights, the Trinity House arbitrating in case of dispute. A commission of 1662 had empowered the surveyor of the navy to press carpenters, shipwrights, and other workmen for the navy, also stockfish, biscuits, timber, hemp, posthorses, &c., and ships, lighters, and carriages to convey the same at reasonable prices.[3] There are many illustrations of the working of this system to be found in the State Papers as well as in the Pepysian Papers, but one or two illustrations from the *Admiralty Letters* will suffice. In order to carry out the increased shipbuilding programme of 1677, on 12 May[4] the navy board was empowered to press a hundred shipwrights for Deptford and Chatham. On 17 November, 1677,[5] the bailiffs of Yarmouth were required by warrant from the lords of the admiralty to press certain shipwrights named 'for the service of the new ships now in building at his Majesty's yard at Harwich;' and the same thing happened again on 16 September, 1678.[6] In May 1679 the king's commands were issued to the Rulers of Watermen's Hall 'to choose and send down to the Navy yacht forthwith . . . one hundred able watermen for the rigging and fetching about of the Sandwich to Chatham, where they are to be discharged and left at liberty to return to their ordinary occasions.'[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 249.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 78 ; see also 52, 76.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 11. [4] *Ib.* ii. 13. [5] *Ib.* ii. 17.

[6] *Ib.* vii. 90. By these proposals James Dunbar, owner of the Mary, of London, 40 tons, was to be employed 'for the impresting and carrying of seamen for his Majesty's navy.' He was to be allowed 22 seamen, 6 guns, small arms, 'and other necessaries,' and was to receive 18*l.* a month for the hire of his ship and 2*s.* 6*d.* apiece 'for every seaman which he shall so imprest, . . . which shall not be under the number of 800 at least.' The reference to the navy board is dated 24 April, 1678.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 242.

[2] 14 Car. II, c. 20.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661-2, p. 521.

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 12.

[5] *Ib.* vi. 225.

[6] *Ib.* viii. 131.

But the references in the Pepysian correspondence for 1673-9 suggest that there were always in practice certain important limitations to the action of the press. It was 'a thing contrary to all practice, even in time of war, to press men out of ships outward bound ;'[2] and this was interpreted strictly, as when in 1678 two men were discharged who had been pressed from a vessel bound to London which had put into Plymouth owing to stress of weather,[3] apparently on the ground that the voyage was not complete, and therefore the use of the press in this case involved an interference with trade. In March 1678 a lieutenant was required by Pepys to justify his action in 'pursuing men into alehouses,' in excess of the authority conferred by his press warrant, which only allowed him to press from homeward-bound ships.[4] Care was also taken to prevent (as far as precept could do it) the press being used by the captains in such a way as to interfere with the navigation of the merchant vessels from which the men were taken, though it was difficult entirely to prevent abuses. In December 1678 Pepys refers to cases which had lately arisen in the Downs, 'to the scandal of the navy,' which he hoped would meet with 'severe correction,'[5] and he remarks a little later, 'Till this liberty of pressing men without consideration to the safety of the vessels they press out of be once severely corrected, the king's service can never be free from clamour.'[6] To press officers out of a merchant ship was admitted to be 'contrary to the known practice of the navy.'[7]

In addition to these traditional limitations on the press, certain classes of persons were sometimes specially exempted; protections being given from time to time to the coal trade,[1] the fishing trade,[2] the government transport service,[3] 'the barge crew of his Grace my lord of Canterbury.'[4] In 1673-4 a protection was given to a vessel employed by the City of London,[5] and early in 1678 his Majesty was 'pleased to direct' by Order in Council 'that no Scotchman shall be impressed into his service.'[6] Particular persons were protected by special warrant: as certain Swedes on the certificate of the Swedish envoy;[7] English sailors by direct action of the lords of the admiralty;[8] a whole ship's company under special circumstances;[9] and persons who violated such protections were called to account before the lords themselves.[10] On 6 June, 1677, Joseph Kechman, a shipwright of Ratcliffe, received a protection against being impressed as a workman by special order from the king, at the instance of the Duchess of Portsmouth, because his wife had been nurse to the Duke of Richmond.[11]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 264, 267.

[2] *Ib.* viii. 104. See also vi. 23, 293, 309, 325.

[3] *Ib.* vi. 356.

[4] *Ib.* vi. 435. The MS. in error reads 'outward bound.'

[5] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, viii. 373, 375.

[6] *Ib.* viii. 389.

[7] *Ib.* ix. 37.

The credit of being the first English government to recognise the obligation of providing for the sick and wounded belongs to the Commonwealth. The principle that the state should provide for those who had suffered in its service was laid down by the Long Parliament in 1642, and a serious attempt was made to carry it out in respect of the soldiers wounded in the Civil War.[12] A little later the same principle was applied in the case of seamen, and when the arrangements of 1649 and 1652 proved inadequate to the necessities of the Dutch war, steps were taken to improve and supplement them. An account of these is given by Mr. Oppenheim in his *Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509–1660.[13] Here, as in other departnents, the period of the Restoration borrowed from the period of the Interregnum, and on 27 October, 1664, in view of the impending war with Holland, a temporary commission for the care of sick and wounded seamen, on the model of the commission of 1653,[1] was appointed to last during the war.[2] It consisted of four members of Parliament—Sir William Doyley, Sir Thomas Clifford,[3] Colonel Bullen Reymes, and John Evelyn the diarist, who seems to have been the most active member.[4] The salaries of the commissioners, which in 1653 had been fixed at 150*l.* a year,[5] were to be 300*l.* a year each.[6] The same commission, with Mr. Henry Ford in place of Clifford, was reappointed, 8 March, 1671–2, for the third Dutch war.[7] The very elaborate instructions given to the commission of 1671–2 are to be found in the *Naval Precedents.*[8] The commissioners are to distribute the sick and wounded among the hospitals of England, 'thereby to ease his Majesty's charge;' and as soon as this accommodation is exhausted they are to billet them upon private persons at the king's expense. London, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Southwold, Aldeburgh, Harwich, Chatham, Gravesend, Deal, Dover, Godspur,[9] Southampton, Weymouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth were specially appointed for the reception of sick and wounded men set on shore from their ships. At each of these 'places of reception' the commissioners were to appoint an agent, and to provide 'a physician (if need be) and chirurgeon, and nurses, fire, candle, linen, medicaments, and all other things necessary,' but 'in as husbandly and thrifty manner' as might be.

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[1] As appears by inference from Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 23.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 20; vii. 92.

[3] *Ib.* vi. 368, 388.

[4] *Ib.* ii. 36.

[5] *Ib.* iii. 109.

[6] *Ib.* vi. 412.

[7] *Ib.* iii. 49.

[8] *Ib.* ii. 85; iii. 59.

[9] *Ib.* iii. 42.

[10] *Ib.* ii. 85; iii. 59.

[11] *Ib.* vi. 48.

[12] Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, chap. xi.

[13] Pp. 320-322.

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[1] The 'commissioners of sick and wounded at Little Britain' were appointed 29 Sept. 1653 (Oppenheim, p. 322).

[2] Evelyn, *Diary*, ii. 173.

[3] See *D. N. B.* xi. 78.

[4] *D. N. B.* xviii. 80. See his plan for an infirmary—Pepys's *Diary*, v. 211 (29 Jan. 1665–6); v. 227 (20 Feb. 1665–6). The correspondence in the *Admiralty Letters* about the sick and wounded also gives the same impression.

[5] Oppenheim, p. 322.

[6] Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 302.

[7] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 535–6.

[8] Pp. 537–53.

[9] Possibly Gosport.

The commissioners were empowered to 'consider the condition of the widows, children, and impotent parents of such as shall be slain in his Majesty's service at sea,' and to award gratuities to them not exceeding 10*l.* They were also entrusted with the disposal of prisoners of war, and appointed their own provost-marshal for this purpose;[1] and they were instructed to provide for the maintenance of the prisoners on a scale 'not exceeding 5*d.* per diem for every common seaman and inferior officer, and 12*d.* per diem for every commission officer.' The duties of the commission appear to have been too heavy for them, for on 17 January, 1672–3, a new commission was appointed[2] to take over the care of the widows and orphans, and a regular scale was established on which gratuities were to be given. Widows of men slain in the service were to receive a gratuity equal to eleven months of their husbands' pay; an additional third was allowed to each orphan, except those married at the time of their father's death. If the deceased left no widow, his mother was to receive the bounty, provided that she was herself a widow, indigent and over fifty years of age. The bounty to a child was to be allowed to accumulate until it was of an age to be apprenticed. This commission terminated in 1674, at the end of the war, and by an order of 21 December, 1674,[3] its functions devolved on the navy board. The board was empowered by an order of 25 September, 1678,[4] to make similar grants in the war with Algiers, and by an order of 10 January, 1681–2[5] in the war with the Moors at Tangier. By a later Order in Council of 3 February, 1687–8,[6] the establishment of 17 January, 1672–3, was 'renewed and rendered universal as to the time, place, and service wherein any person shall be slain in his Majesty's pay as against his enemies at the seas,' so as to cover the case of the present war with Sallee, and 'other occasions, such as conflicts with pirates upon the coasts of Guinea, the West Indies, &c.,' as well as 'greater wars' 'with Holland and Algiers.' Special commissioners were not, however, again appointed, but the administration of the royal bounty was left to the navy board.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 623.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 335–43.

[3] *Ib.* p. 342.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* p. 343.

[6] *Ib.* p. 482.

These arrangements were all admirable upon paper, and the members of the commission displayed indefatigable industry,[1] but in this department of affairs as in others, the want of money—the chronic disease from which the navy suffered—prevented them from being effectively carried out. On 5 June, 1672, Evelyn writes from Rochester: 'My present posture is this. I have near 600 sick and wounded men in this place, 200 prisoners, and the apprehension of hundreds more. . . . I hope there will be care to supply my district here with moneys, or else I shall be very miserable, for no poor creature does earn his bread with greater anxiety than I at present, and it will *comble* me with a ruin insupportable unless those of the treasury be kind to us.'[2] By the autumn some of the localities were becoming restive at the nonpayment of arrears. There was a great deal of noise made at Gravesend when the commissioners of the navy passed by; and on 27 August Evelyn wrote to Pepys, 'Those cursed people of Gravesend have no bowels, and swear that they will receive not a man more till their arrears are discharged. We are above 2,000*l.* indebted in Kent, where our daily charge is 100*l.* for quarters only. Judge by this how comfortable a station I am in.'[3] On 2 September he writes from Deptford: 'I do again foresee that not only e [at Gravesend] but in several other places under my ection there will be clamours, and perhaps real exposures of our sick flock, without my power to remedy till I have moneys assigned me sufficient to discharge the great arrears owing in all those places, and for the carrying on that chargeable service. I am at present 3,000*l.* indebted to miserably poor people, and have near 3,000 sick creatures dispersed amongst them.'[1] In 1673 we hear of further 'clamours' from the persons on whom the sick and wounded men had been billeted. In December of that year Evelyn demanded 2,000*l.* 'for the present refreshment of the most indigent among them,' and '1,000*l.* weekly for thirteen weeks to come,' in order that he might pay the arrears due in his district.[2] But apparently he failed to get it, for in January 1673-4 the people of Deal, to whom large arrears were due, refused to receive any more of the sick and wounded into their houses, 'which being so,' writes Pepys to Evelyn, 'and led thereto from the reason of the thing, no less than from the captiousness of the times wherein we now are, I am of opinion that it is neither fit with regard to the honour of his Majesty's service, nor the safety of any of us his servants, that any thing like severity or threats should be used upon any of the persons complained of, without good advice and express order.'[3] In another letter[4] of the same date he refers to 'the calamitous condition of the poor sick seamen and the indigence of those by whom it is expected they should be entertained, and all through the want of money.'[5]

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[1] *S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 145.

[2] *Ib.* p. 157.

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxxviii. 114.

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[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxxviii. 140.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 439, 24 Dec. 1673.

[3] *Ib.* iii. 55, 23 Jan. 1673-4.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 56.

[5] If the commission of 1671-2 suffered thus for want of money, that of 1664 had been no better off. Evelyn wrote on 30 Sept. 1665, saying that he had 5,000 sick, wounded, and prisoners dying for want of bread and shelter. 'His Majesty's subjects,' he adds, 'die in our sight and at our thresholds without our being able to relieve them, which, with our barbarous exposure of the prisoners to the utmost of sufferings, must needs redound to his Majesty's great dishonour, and to the consequence of losing the hearts of our own people, who are ready to execrate and stone us as we pass' (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cxxxiii. 63_1; see also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1666-7, p. 398).

Early in the reign of the lords commissioners for executing the office of the lord high admiral a change was made in the system of dealing with sick and wounded seamen. At the close of the war with Holland the temporary commission for this purpose[1] was withdrawn, and the duties of the commission were handed over by a warrant from the lords of the admiralty, dated 28 March, 1674, to James Pearse, 'chirurgeon-general of his Majesty's navy.'[2] There is among the Pepysian papers a report from Pearse made to Pepys 'for the king's information,' dated September 1687, which gives a general account of the reforms which he had introduced during a long tenure of office.[3] From this report it appears that he had been first commissioned to take care of sick and wounded seamen by an order from the Duke of York, dated 20 June, 1670, in consequence of an accident to two men on board his yacht,[4] and thus he was only returning to duties with which he was already familiar. In 1687 he claimed to have 'reduced it into such a method that it is not possible for me (or whomsoever shall succeed me) to wrong his Majesty or injure his subjects.' (1.) No man was received on shore from any ship without a certificate signed by the captain and officers, 'whereof the purser or steward is required to be one,' in order that his allowance on board might be stopped towards meeting the cost of his accommodation on shore. (2.) Either by contract, or perhaps by an application of the principle of insurance, based on a calculation of averages, it was arranged that 'how long soever any man lies sick on shore, his Majesty pays but 6*s.* 8*d.* for attendance, physic, and surgery.' (3.) On making up the accounts of the department the chirurgeon-general's 'deputies for that service' were not only required to produce the certificate above mentioned for each man, 'but they swear also to the truth of the account, and give not only their own receipts for the money, but produce also (after payment) each landlord or landlady's receipt for the money in that account said to be due for each man's quarters.' But the work of the chirurgeon-general's department was not confined to the care of the sick and wounded; it was at this time extended also to the provision of medical necessaries and comforts for the fleet. By an order from the navy board, dated 8 February, 1672–3, itself in pursuance of an earlier warrant of '29 January last' from the lord high admiral, James Pearse had been directed, 'for the more regular and seasonable supplying his Majesty's ships with the necessaries appointed for relief of sick and wounded seamen of his Majesty's fleet,' to issue from time to time, upon receipt of warrant from the navy board, 'the usual proportion of spices and other necessaries' to the surgeons of the ships named in the warrant, taking care that the inclusive charges (including 'boxes, porterage, and transportation to the ships') do not exceed 2*d.* a man per month, 'which being the utmost of his Majesty's allowance, you are not upon any consideration whatever to expect more.' 'For the timely enabling' him to make such provision, the navy board undertook to imprest to him from time to time such sums as might be necessary. 'And for discharging yourself of the same you are to bring the chirurgeons' hands on the back of our warrant, acknowledging the receipt of the proportion of necessaries for the number of men and time specified in our said warrant, which shall be allowed you upon accounts after his Majesty's aforesaid rate of 2*d.* a man *per mensem.*' To seamen under cure in the hospitals of London the king allowed 2*d. per diem*, 'which hath been allowed from time out of mind.' For this also Mr. Pearse, who seems to have been a man of method after Pepys's own heart, was accustomed to give regular account, producing 'each man's receipt for the same, with also one or more witnesses to it.'

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[1] See p. 133, *supra*.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 106.

[3] *Ib.* What appears to be the original report is pasted into the volume of *Miscellanies* (pp. 103–110). It includes copies of the various orders and warrants, and specimens of the printed forms used in carrying out the system established by Pearse.

[4] *Ib.*

'Mariners and soldiers maimed in his Majesty's service at sea' were entitled to relief out of the Chest at Chatham. The rate at which such relief was given in the latter part of the century appears from a paper of 24 July, 1685,[1] supplied by the clerk of the Chest 'in answer to a demand of Mr. Pepys upon that subject.'

	£	s.	d.
A leg or arm lost is *6l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* paid as present relief, and so much settled as an annual pension for his lifetime . . .	6	13	4
If two legs be lost his pension is doubled .	13	6	8
For the loss of two arms, in consideration of his being thereby rendered uncapable of getting a livelihood any other way, per annum .	15	0	0
But if an arm be on, and disabled only, is 5*l.* per annum	5	0	0
An eye lost is 4*l.* per annum	4	0	0

If a pensioner desires to be bought off he is paid two years' pension in full satisfaction, no more or less, with all his arrears due to that time, and is paid to all indifferently; but this practice of buying off (where a leg or arm is lost) extends only to Scotch, Irish, or such who live beyond sea, in consideration of the charge they must otherwise inevitably be at in appearing at a general pay once in three years, which they are called to for preventing frauds by forged certificates.

And where any wound or hurt occasions a fracture, contusion, impostumation, or the like, under the loss of a limb, such are viewed by the chirurgeons, and certified to deserve what in their opinions may be a proportionable reward in full satisfaction. And these sorts of hurts frequently accompany the loss of a limb in other parts of the body, for which they have a reward apart from their annual allowance, according to the chirurgeon's discretion.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, vi. 71.

4. *Pay*

During the period under consideration a good deal was done to place the rates of pay, and especially the pay of officers, upon a more satisfactory footing, and particulars of the reforms effected are to be found in the manuscripts in the Pepysian Library. Under Charles I, in 1637, 4*l.* had been paid to the Earl of Northumberland as 'general of the fleet.'[1] A paper of 1653[2] shows that the rate of pay in force in that year for the 'general, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the fleet' was 3*l.*, 2*l.*, and 1*l.* a day respectively. Under Charles II the pay of the general or admiral of the fleet was again raised to 4*l.*, and by an Order in Council, dated 26 February, 1665–6,[3] the following scale was established for the other flag-officers:

To a vice-admiral of the fleet . . .	50*s.*	ꝑ diem
To a rear-admiral of the fleet . . .	40*s.*	„
To a vice-admiral of a squadron . .	30*s.*	„
To a rear-admiral of a squadron . .	20*s.*	„

The pay of other officers on board ship remained at the rates which had been fixed in 1653,[4] and in the wages of seamen the considerable increase that had already taken place prior to the Restoration was maintained.[5] The uniform rate of 15*s.* for seamen in 1631 stood in 1660 at 24*s.* for 'able' seamen and 19*s.* for 'ordinary' seamen. 'Gromets'[6]—the next class of rating—who in 1631 received

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[1] Charnock, *Marine Architecture*, ii. 208–10.

[2] *S. P. Dom. Interr.* xxxii. 39.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 217.

[4] A table of officers' monthly pay, as fixed in 1653, is given in Oppenheim, p. 360.

[5] Oppenheim, pp. 226 and 314; *Archæologia*, xlviii. 178.

[6] Generally a ship's apprentice; *cf.* Hakluyt: 'In every ship 21 men and a garcion or boy, which is called a Gromet.' The word is derived from the Dutch *grom*, or Low Latin *gromettus*, one occupied in a servile office (Oppenheim, p. 314, note 4).

11*s.* 3*d.*, were getting 14*s.* 3*d.* in 1660; and 'boys,' who used to have 7*s.* 6*d.*, now had 9*s.* 6*d.* The remuneration of the carpenter, boatswain, and others, whose wages varied according to the ship's rate, had risen for all rates in proportion. The carpenter, who in 1631 received 21*s.* to 37*s.* 6*d.*, according to rate, and whose wages had been raised in 1647 to 35*s.* to 63*s.*, received in 1660 2*l.* to 4*l.*, and the gunner the same. The boatswain, who in 1631 had drawn 23*s.* 4*d.* to 45*s.*, and had been raised in 1647 to 37*s.* 4*d.* to 70*s.*, was in 1670 receiving the same as the carpenter and gunner. Thus his wages had been absolutely raised but relatively reduced; this was the only case of a reduction of any kind.

From another document in the Pepysian Library that is better known than most of the original sources there—*King James II's Pocket Book of Rates and Memorandums*[1]—we get the following tables of harbour and rigging wages, which were on a lower scale than the sea wages, though arranged on a similar classification.

Monthly Wages in Harbour

—	1st-rate	2nd-rate	3rd-rate	4th-rate	5th-rate	6th-rate
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Master	3 1 5	—	—	—	—	—
Boatswain . . .	2 0 0	1 10 0	1 6 8	1 6 8	1 3 4	1 0 0
Purser	1 16 8	1 6 8	1 3 4	1 3 4	—	—
Gunner . . .	1 16 8	1 6 8	1 3 4	1 3 4	1 0 0	—
Carpenter . . .	1 16 8	—	—	—	—	—
Cook	0 17 6	0 15 0	—	—	—	—
Common men . .	0 15 0	—	—	—	—	—
Gromets . . .	0 11 3	—	—	—	—	—
Boys	0 7 6	—	—	—	—	—

Rigging Wages

Captain and lieutenant to have pay from the date of commission.

Master to have two-thirds of sea pay.

Boatswain, gunner, carpenter, quartermaster, and able seamen to have full sea pay.

All other officers to have able seamen's pay, except the swabber, who is to have 18*s.*[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 488.

[2] His full pay was 24*s.*

The misfortune of the 'poor seaman' was not that his rate of pay was insufficient, but that he could not get his money, or if he got it at all it was in the depreciated paper currency known as the 'ticket.' A 'ticket' was a certificate from the officers of his ship, issued to each seaman, specifying the quality and term of his service. This, when countersigned by the navy board, was the seaman's warrant for demanding his wages from the treasurer of the navy on shore. The original purpose of tickets was to save the necessity of transporting large sums of money on board ship, but the want of funds in the navy soon made it the regular practice to treat tickets as inconvertible paper, and to discharge all seamen with tickets instead of money—or with money for part of their time and a ticket for the rest. Theoretically the ticket should have supplied the seamen with credit up to almost the full amount of his wages, but in practice the long waiting and uncertainty of payment caused a great depreciation of tickets. We hear of women brokers standing about the navy office, offering to help seamen who might have any tickets to ready money. They took them to Mrs. Salesbury in Carpenter's Yard, near Aldgate, who was accustomed to buy them at 5*s.* per pound or more loss to the seamen.[1] This caused great discontent among the seamen, who naturally objected to being paid in what was really a depreciated paper, and on 13 February, 1666–7, Pepys records in the *Diary* that 'there was a very great disorder this day at the ticket office, to the beating and bruising of the face of Carcasse' (the clerk).[2] Their grievance attracted attention, and in 1667 the House of Commons inquired into 'the buying and selling of tickets.'[3] The 'infinite great disorder' of the ticket office also attracted the notice of the commissioners of public accounts,[4] but it was impossible to go behind the reply of the navy board when asked to justify the practice. 'We conceive the use of tickets to be by no other means removable than by a supply of money in every place, at all times, in readiness, where and when . . . any . . . occasions of discharging seamen shall arise.'[1] Mr. Oppenheim notes the existence of similar difficulties under Charles I.[2] Apart from the disastrous results of the practice of issuing tickets without money to pay them, the actual machinery of the system appears to have been better under Charles II than it had been under Charles I. Printed tickets with counterfoils had been invented under the Commonwealth, and were in use as early as August 1654,[3] though the use of written tickets was not finally abandoned till 1657.[4] After the first Dutch war the practice was introduced of systematically comparing them with the counterfoils to protect the office against fraud;[5] while in 1667 elaborate instructions for the examining and signing of tickets were drawn up by the navy board.[6] Hollond complains of the abuses to which even a solvent ticket system gave rise. It enabled 'wrong parties' to secure the seaman's wages—these being 'such as have wrought upon the advantage of men's necessities'—'either pursers, clerks of the check, or creditors, whether alehouse-keepers, or slopsellers, or else pretended sweethearts.'[7] He also notes the facilities afforded for the abuse called 'dead pays,' by which tickets were issued for seamen who were dead, or who never served, and men suborned to personate them at the pay-table. This was particularly easy in time of war, when the pressure of business was too great to allow of the tickets being properly examined.[8]

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1666–7, p. 426; see also *ib.* 1665–6, p. 75.

[2] *Diary*, vi. 175.

[3] *Ib.* vii. 193.

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, vi. 465–480.

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[1] Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 509.

[2] *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509–1660, p. 287.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 548.

[4] *Ib.* 1657–8, p. 395.

[5] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, vi. 465, 474.

[6] Pepysian MSS. No. 2554. These instructions were dated 17 January, 1666-7.

[7] *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 129.

[8] *Ib.* p. 140. Hollond refers here to the abuse of what was a recog-

A minor reform of 1663, which, without affecting money wages, improved the advantages of position enjoyed by officers of the navy, is worth a brief notice in passing. By an Order in Council dated 28 August, 1663,[1] officers belonging to the king's navy or yards, holding their places by royal patent or by warrant from the lord high admiral, were exempted from bearing office in their respective parishes 'as constables, surveyors, churchwardens, and the like,' and from attending 'at assizes, and sessions, and other meetings in the county,' that they may not be withdrawn 'from their continual care and attendance in their several places in his Majesty's navy.' This exemption had been long coveted by the navy officials. In November 1628, one John Neale, anchorsmith to the king, living at Deptford, had complained to the lords of the admiralty that being employed in the king's service, 'for performance whereof all his utmost pains, rendered night and day, are little enough,' he has been chosen constable of the parish. He prays for a warrant to free him from all parish offices.[2] He succeeded in obtaining a certificate that testified, perhaps not without a sense of humour, that he was 'a man altogether unfit to bear any office in the parish where he dwelleth.'[3] On 21 April, 1632, the pursers, boatswains, gunners, and others employed in the navy, presented a petition to the lords urging that they ought to be free from all land watchings, wardings, serving as jurors, or doing other land service.[4] In 1672 the victuallers of the navy attempted to obtain the same privilege for the master butcher to the victualling office,[5] but it is not clear whether this extension of the privilege was permitted.

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nised principle in the navy. The system of drawing pay for non-existent persons under the name of 'dead pays' is described in the Report of the Commission of 1618, and the same principle prevailed in the eighteenth century in connexion with what were known as 'widows' men.'

[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 479–80.

[2] *S. P. Dom. Car. I*, cxx. 62.

[3] *Ib.* cxxi. 77.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1631–3, p. 313.

[5] *Ib.* 1672, p. 414, 29 July, 1672.

An important innovation in the matter of pay belongs to the year 1668. Hitherto it had been usual to regard officers of the navy as appointed for particular services, and possessing no claim upon the government when these services were discharged. The result of this was that, except in time of war, the field for employment was far too small, and a number of good officers were thrown upon their own resources. But at the close of the second Dutch war the government formally recognised for the first time the claims of officers to pay in time of peace. The change actually effected was a small one, but the principle recognised was destined to lead to the modern system of continuous employment.[1] By an Order in Council dated 17 July, 1668,[2] it was provided that, in consideration of 'the eminent services performed in the late war against the Dutch by the flag officers' of the fleet, and the fact that 'during the time of peace several of them are out of employment, and thereby disabled to support themselves in a condition answerable to their merits, and those marks of honour his Majesty hath conferred on them,' they should receive 'pensions' in proportion to the scale of pay on active service which had been fixed at the beginning of the war. These were to be at the following rates:—

To the vice-admirals of the fleet . .	250*l.*	per annum
To the rear-admirals of the fleet . .	250*l.*	"
To the vice-admirals of squadrons . .	200*l.*	"
To the rear-admirals of squadrons . .	150*l.*	"
To the captains of admirals' ships . .	150*l.*	"

By another Order in Council, dated 26 June, 1674,[3] the same scale was established for flag officers who had served in the third Dutch war.

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[1] Deane had urged in 1653 that seamen should be entered for continuous service and kept on continuous pay, like soldiers (*D. N. B.* xiv. 257).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 477. There is a reference to this in the *Diary*, viii. 62 (6 July, 1668).

[3] *Ib.* p. 222.

On 12 June, 1672, a proposal made by the Duke of York was adopted by the king that second captains should be appointed in all flagships of the fleet, according to the following establishment:—The first captain of the admiral's ship to remain 'upon the same foot he now is;' 'the second captain of that ship' to have pay equal to the pay of a captain of a first-rate; the 'admirals of the white and blue squadrons' to 'have under them each one captain with the pay as a captain of first-rates;' 'each vice-admiral of a squadron to have a captain with pay as captains of second-rates;' and 'each rear-admiral to have one captain with pay as captain of a third-rate.'[1]

On 6 May, 1674, the system of half-pay for officers during the time when they were not actually employed was extended by Order in Council[2] to the captains of first and second rates, and to the second captains of flagships. The order refers to the 'establishment some time since made by his Majesty in council' whereby 'an allowance is already provided for the support of such sea commanders in time of peace as have had the honour of bearing a flag in his Majesty's fleets during a war,' and the absence of similar provision 'for such other commanders as, having not carried a flag, have nevertheless borne command in his Majesty's ships of the first and second rate, and therein gone through the greatest hardships of war, without any of the encouragements arising from the accidental benefits incident to commanders of lesser ships, from prizes, convoys, and otherwise,' and provides for 'an allowance of half-pay' in such cases, to continue 'so long as they shall remain unprovided for to the value of the like half-pay, either by some new employment in his Majesty's service or by any pension, annuity, or other benefit which already is or may hereafter be conferred by his Majesty,' it being understood that if the value of such employment should fall short of half-pay, it was to be made up to that amount. Half-pay is to be calculated according to the value of the best command in which the officer in question has been employed; but no such commander or captain 'shall go abroad in any merchant's service without his Majesty's licence first had and obtained.'

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[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II.* xxxix, 49 and 58.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 164. See also p. 259.

A twelvemonth later, on 19 May, 1675, the provisions of this establishment were still further extended by Order in Council,[1] so as to enable commanders of squadrons to share its benefits. A petition was presented by Sir Robert Robinson, setting forth that although not qualified for half-pay as a flag officer or the commander of a first or second rate, 'he hath gone through considerable charges by having had the chief command of several considerable squadrons of ships both in the former and latter war with the Dutch.' The strength of this claim was at once recognised, and half-pay was extended to such commanders as shall have had the command in chief of twelve ships of war, besides 'fire-ships and small craft;' and they were to receive the same allowance as the rear-admiral of a squadron received on the previous establishment.[2] Another Order in Council of the same date,[3] and following the lines of the previous order of 6 May, 1674, established an allowance of half-pay 'to the several persons now living who have served as masters in his Majesty's ships of the first and second rate' in the last war, in consideration of the 'trust reposed in the masters which serve in' the 'great ships, and the small number of persons qualified for the discharge of the same.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 165.

[2] *I.e.* 150*l.* a year: see p. 145, *supra.*

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 167. See also p. 261. This establishment for masters applied only to those who had served in the third Dutch war. A case came up in 1676 of a certain Captain Pibus, who had served as master in the second war and as commander of a small ship in the third, and had thus lost his half-pay as master by his promotion to be captain. A memorial from the lords of the admiralty to the council, dated 15 December, 1676, prayed that he might be put on the masters' establishment by special order from the council table as 'the only surviving master of the first and second rate ships unprovided for of all that served his Majesty in the former war' (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, v. 285).

In 1672 another important change relating to pay was made by the council. By an order dated 6 December[1] the principle of pensions on superannuation was adopted. It was provided that such officers as might be 'by age rendered uncapable of performing their respective duties in the manner' the 'service doth require' and should be by the lord high admiral judged unfit 'to be continued in their employments,' 'after full hearing had thereupon' of the navy board, should be entitled to 'a pension equal to the salary and known allowances they enjoyed,' provided that they had completed fifteen years of service 'where the employment is constant, such as that of boatswains, gunners, pursers, carpenters, &c.,' or eight years where it is not constant, 'such as that of masters, chirurgeons, &c.'[2]

In 1673 the principle of pensions on superannuation, which had been applied in 1672 to cases of old age, was extended to officers wounded in service at sea. An important step in this direction had been taken by the Duke of York just before resigning office, for on 6 June an Order in Council was adopted, on his suggestion, giving to such officers one year's wages, 'and the continuance of them in pay during the whole time they shall by good proof appear to have lain under cure.' These wages were to be: for the first three rates, what they actually received; and for the last three rates, what the corresponding officer would receive on board a third-rate. This was to be paid 'in ready money, and not by pension,' and 'to extend not to any less wound than the loss of an eye or limb, or the total loss of the use of a limb,' or 'such as shall be (upon joint search made by the king's serjeant chirurgeons and chirurgeon-general of the fleet) by them certified to be in all the effects thereof of equal prejudice to the health of the body with the loss of a limb.'[1] On 15 October, 1673, the provisions of the order of 6 June were extended by another Order in Council,[2] adopted on the recommendation of the admiralty commission, to volunteers borne 'by particular order of the lord high admiral,' and to 'the officers of the land soldiers serving on board any of his Majesty's ships,' 'both as to their own relief in case of wounds, and their widows and orphans in case of death.' Four months later, on 6 February, 1673–4, another Order in Council,[3] also adopted on the recommendation of the admiralty commission, carried the same principle a little further. This provided that in cases not coming under the order of 6 June, owing to the wounds received at sea not being equal to the loss of an eye or limb, 'the party wounded may be continued during the time of his cure in the pay he enjoyed at the time of his being wounded, and be farther allowed by his Majesty such expenses relating to his said cure as upon producing the particulars thereof from his doctor, nurse, apothecary, and chirurgeon respectively, shall be found reasonable' by the 'chirurgeon-general at land' and the chirurgeon-general of the fleet. Volunteers recommended by special warrant from the king, or the lord high admiral for the time being, were to have allowance for their wounds as if they were lieutenants, according to the rate of the ship in which they were wounded.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 198.

[2] A case of a pension granted under this establishment occurs in Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 401 (13 Dec. 1673). The report of the commission of 1618 had allowed for the charge of certain 'reasonable pensions to those aged and impotent servants which are unfit to be continued in their places,' but these were special cases of seamen and labourers in the yard, and there were only six of them altogether.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 218. There is another copy in *Miscellanies*, vi. 67. This order was 'explained' by a subsequent order of 27 March, 1674, which provided that flag officers should have their year's pay according to the flag borne at the time of wounding, and not according to the pay due to them as captains of ships (*Nav. Prec.* 221, and *Misc.* vi. 69).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 219.

[3] *Ib.* p. 220.

In February 1686 the navy board proposed a new establishment of wages, which made a few minor changes.

Navy Office, 15 Feb. 1685–6

A Table of the Monthly Wages humbly proposed by the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy as fitting to be established for the Officers and others serving on board his Majesty's Ships

—	1st-rate		2nd-rate		3rd-rate		4th-rate		5th-rate		6th-rate, of 50 men and more		Biggest yachts		Smallest yachts, sloops, &c.	
Quality of Officers	No.	Wages	No.	Wages	No.	Wages	No.	Wages	No.	Wages	No.	Wages	No.	Wages	No.	Wages
		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Captain[1]	1	21 0 0	1	16 16 0	1	14 0 0	1	10 10 0	1	8 8 0	1	7 0 0	1	7 0 0	1	7 0 0
Lieutenant	3	4 4 0	3	4 4 0	2	3 10 0	2	3 10 0	1	3 10 0	1	2 16 6	—	—	—	—
Master	1	7 0 0	1	6 6 0	1	4 13 8	1	4 6 2	1	3 17 6	Captain is master				—	—
Boatswain	1	4 0 0	1	3 10 0	1	3 0 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 5 0	1	2 0 0	1	2 0 0	1	2 0 0
Gunner	1	4 0 0	1	3 10 0	1	3 0 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 5 0	1	2 0 0	1	2 0 0		
Purser	1	4 0 0	1	3 10 0	1	3 0 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 5 0	Captain is purser				—	—
Carpenter	1	4 0 0	1	3 10 0	1	3 0 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 5 0	1	2 0 0	1	2 0 0	1	2 0 0
Cook	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0
Mates and Pilots	6	3 6 0	5	3 0 0	3	2 16 2	2	2 7 10	2	2 2 0	1	2 2 0	1	2 2 0	1	2 2 0
Chirurgeon	1	2 10 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 10 0	1	2 10 0	—	—
Midshipmen	18	2 5 0	14	2 0 0	10	1 17 6	7	1 13 9	3	1 10 0	2	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	—	—
Yeomen of Powder	2	2 5 0	2	2 0 0	2	1 17 6	1	1 13 9	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	—	—	—	—
Carpenter's mates	2	2 0 0	2	2 0 0	1	1 16 0	1	1 14 0	1	1 12 0	1	1 10 0	—	—	—	—
Quartermasters	8	1 15 0	6	1 15 0	4	1 12 0	4	1 10 0	2	1 8 0	1	1 6 0	1	1 6 0	—	—
Boatswain's mates	2	1 15 0	2	1 15 0	1	1 12 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 8 0	1	1 6 0	—	—	—	—
Corporal	1	1 15 0	1	1 12 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 8 0	1	1 6 0	—	—	—	—
Yeomen of the sheets	4	1 12 0	4	1 10 0	2	1 8 0	2	1 8 0	1	1 6 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coxswain	1	1 12 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 8 0	1	1 8 0	1	1 6 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coxswain's mate	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Quartermaster's mates	4	1 10 0	4	1 10 0	4	1 8 0	2	1 8 0	2	1 6 0	1	1 5 0	—	—	—	—
Chirurgeon's mates	2	1 10 0	2	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	—	—	—	—
Master Trumpeter	1	1 10 0	1	1 8 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 4 0	—	—	—	—
Ordinary Trumpeters	5	1 4 0	5	1 4 0	5	1 4 0	5	1 4 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Quarter-gunners	8	1 6 0	6	1 6 0	4	1 5 0	4	1 5 0	2	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	—	—	—	—
Ordinary carpenters	10	1 6 0	8	1 6 0	6	1 5 0	4	1 5 0	2	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	—	—	—	—
Steward	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 3 4	1	1 0 8	1	1 0 0	1	1 0 0	—	—
Armourer	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	1	1 4 0	1	1 4 0	—	—	—	—
Gunsmith	1	1 5 0	1	1 5 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Steward's mate	1	1 0 8	1	1 0 8	1	1 0 8	1	1 0 8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gunner's mates	2	1 15 0	2	1 15 0	1	1 12 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 8 0	1	1 6 0	—	—	—	—
Captain's clerk	1	2 5 0	1	2 0 0	1	1 17 6	1	1 13 9	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	1	1 10 0	—	—
Sailmaker[2]	1	0 4 0	1	0 4 0	1	0 4 0	1	0 4 0	1	0 4 0	1	0 4 0	—	—	—	—
Cook's mate		1 4 0	in each Rate													
Cooper																
Swabber																
Able seaman																
Ordinary seaman		19 0														
Barber																
Gromets		14 3														
Boys		9 6														

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[1] For the particulars of the captains' table allowance established in 1686, see p. 212, *infra*.

[2] 'Above what he receives in another quality.

If this is compared with the wages-table in force at the beginning of the period, it will be observed that the yachts are now returned in two classes instead of one, as 'biggest yachts' and 'smallest yachts, sloops, &c.,' the latter class dispensing with the surgeon, midshipmen, and quartermaster carried by the former, and amalgamating the offices of boatswain and gunner. The office of lieutenant is established for sixth-rates, paid at 2*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* a month; the 'yeomen of the sheets' are extended to fifth-rates, at 26*s.*; the armourer is extended to fifth and sixth rates, at 24*s.*; and the 'yeomen of the powder,' who had hitherto been paid at 24*s.* in each rate, are put upon a regular scale at 2*l.* 5*s.*, 2*l.*, 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, 1*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, 1*l.* 10*s.*, and 1*l.* 10*s.* for first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rates respectively. There are also some changes in the number of officers borne in each rate. The fact that the new establishment was copied into the *Naval Precedents*[1] makes it probable that it was actually adopted, although no independent record of this appears in the Pepysian papers.

5. *Victuals*

The arrangements for victualling had always had an important bearing upon the contentment and efficiency of the seamen. 'However the pay of the mariners, both for sea and harbour, may be wanting for some time,' wrote one of the victuallers,[2] 'yet they must have continual supplies of victuals, otherwise they will be apt to fall into very great disorders.' 'Englishmen,' wrote Pepys in his minute-book,[3] 'and more especially seamen, love their bellies above anything else, and therefore it must always be remembered, in the management of the victualling of the navy, that to make any abatement from them in the quantity or agreeableness of the victuals, is to discourage and provoke them in the tenderest point, and will sooner render them disgusted with the king's service than any one other hardship that can be put upon them.' But in this department also the want of money had fatal effects, and contributed more than any other single cause to the comparative failure to provide victuals of good quality, sufficient quantity, and promptly delivered where they were required.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, pp. 195–6.
[2] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxcix. 121.
[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 274.

Before the Restoration the victualling had been managed by victualling commissioners 'upon account,'[1] the state keeping the business in its own hands. But the system had little chance of a fair trial owing to financial embarrassments,[2] and just before the king's return matters were as bad as they could well be.[3] The restored government reverted to the older system of contract, and in September 1660 Denis Gauden was appointed contractor under the satisfying title of 'surveyor-general of all victuals to be provided for his Majesty's ships and maritime causes,' with a fee of 50*l.* a year, and 8*d.* a day for a clerk.[4] The whole burden of the victualling therefore rested upon a single man, and when the war broke out he was scarcely able to meet the large demands which it made; yet no change could be made in the system until the government was in a position to settle accounts with him. Thus the victuals, though on the whole good in quality, were deficient in quantity, and when Gauden was remonstrated with he could always reply, and generally with perfect truth, that it was impossible for him to do better as long as the government failed to keep their part of the contract, and to make payments on account at the stipulated times.[5] On 11 November, 1664,[6] the duke himself complained of the scarcity of victuals, and in the spring of 1665, when the fleet was fitting for sea, complaints of the failure of the victualler were frequent.[1] Later on, when Pepys went down to visit the fleet in September, Lord Sandwich told him that most of the ships had been without beer 'these three weeks or month, and but few days' dry provisions.'[2] In this year complaints occur, though not often, of uneatable provisions, but when they were bad they were sometimes very bad. On 10 August, 1665, Commissioner Middleton wrote to Pepys from Portsmouth that the Coventry was still in port; her beer had nearly poisoned one man, who, 'being thirsty, drank a great draught.'[3] Probably now, as undoubtedly later, the backwardness of the victualling in turn affected the scarcity of men, for the sailors deserted from ships where they could get no food.[4]

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[1] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 154.

[2] Oppenheim, p. 326.

[3] *Ib.* p. 327.

[4] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, Docquet Book, p. 46.

[5] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1665-6, p. xxxix. See also pp. 23, 27, 55, 203.

[6] *Ib.* 1664-5, p. 62.

The practical breakdown of the victualling system during the spring and summer of 1665 led to a proposal for an alteration in method, and the matter was referred to Pepys for consideration. The substance of his report appears in a letter to the Duke of Albemarle, dated 6 October, 1665,[5] in which he states that he has considered how the navy victualling could be better managed than by Mr. Gauden, and has requested three or four of the ablest men whom the plague has left to join Gauden in it, but they all refuse. Besides, a partnership would lose two months' time in taking inventories of the present stock of victuals, and money would be wanted for new commissioners. He finally suggests that Mr. Gauden's sons should be joined with him to carry it on in case of his death, and that, to provide against fraud, a surveyor of victuals should be appointed at the king's charge in each port, with power to examine books, contracts, &c., and instructed to report weekly to a general officer in London. This proposal for the establishment of new machinery for keeping the victualler up to the mark was 'read before the king, duke, and the cabal with complete applause and satisfaction,'[1] and on 11 October Albemarle wrote to Pepys to say that it had received the formal approval of the king.[2] On the 19th Pepys wrote to Coventry suggesting that he himself was willing to be the new surveyor-general,[3] and on the 27th the post was offered to and accepted by him,[4] at a salary of 300*l.* a year.[5] In December we find from the *Diary* that he was busy drawing up instructions for his subordinates, the surveyors of victualling at the ports.[6]

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664–5, pp. 306, 311, 317, 321, 382.

[2] *Diary*, v. 81 (18 Sept. 1665).

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cxxviii. 85; see also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1664–5, p. 480.

[4] *Ib.* 1667–8, p. xviii.

[5] *Ib.* 1665–6, p. 7.

The new method seems to have resulted in a slight improvement in the victualling.[7] Pepys was much pleased with his arrangements, and was complimented by the Duke of York,[8] and it is certainly the case that the State Papers for the year 1666 do not contain as many complaints against the victuallers as those for 1665. The most important complaint comes, not by way of the State Papers but of the *Diary*, from the generals at sea, who on 27 August, 1666, wrote what Pepys called 'a most scurvy letter,' complaining of the victualling in particular, and 'reflecting most upon Sir W. Coventry, and then upon me for my accounts . . . and then of the whole office in neglecting them and the king's service, and this in very plain and sharp and menacing terms.'[9] In February of the next year also there were complaints from Kempthorne's fleet bound for the Straits,[10] and in August 1667 from Sir Edward Spragge.[11] The new arrangement was, however, only temporary, and the office of surveyor of the victualling was abolished on the conclusion of peace.[1] In 1668 the failures of the victualler again gave trouble, for Gauden had exhausted his credit by supplying in advance of payment, and could get no money from the government.[2] It was therefore decided to open the victualling to a new contract.[3] Tenders were to be sent in by 20 August, 1668, but, as notice was not given till after 10 August, the time allowed for intending contractors was far too short; and meanwhile the difficulties were greater than ever, because Gauden, being out of office, refused to supply any more provisions. Three new contractors sent in tenders, besides the old contractor, Gauden, who also sent in a statement of the sums already owing to him, amounting, with interest at 6 per cent., to 176,725*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* The result of the negotiations was that Gauden, to whom the government was so deeply in debt, was allowed by an Order in Council of 26 September, 1668, again to undertake the victualling at 6*d.* a day per man harbour victuals and 8*d.* sea victuals, with 8¾*d.* for ships going 27 degrees southward,[4] but he was to have associated with him two responsible persons, approved by the king. Sir William Penn was eventually appointed as one of these,[5] but the second 'responsible person' does not appear to have been named, for the contract approved on 24 February, 1668–9, was between the king and Sir Denis Gauden, Sir William Penn, and Benjamin Gauden, the victualler's son.[6] The contract of 1669 was not of long duration, for Penn died in 1670, and towards the close of 1671 Josiah Child, Sir Thomas Littleton, and Thomas Papillon were associated with the two Gaudens as victuallers of the navy under a new contract beginning 1 January, 1671–2.[1] This was a change of persons rather than policy. The important new departure was that of 1669, when, to prevent any disappointments from the death or incapacity of the victuallers, the king was 'first induced to the committing to a partnership of three the performance of that contract which till then had with much hazard been still lodged in the hands of one.'[2]

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[1] *Diary*, v. 116 (14 Oct. 1665).

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1665–6, p. 11. [3] *Diary*, v. 121. [4] *Ib.* v. 128.

[5] *Ib.* v. 133. It was supplemented by 500*l.* a year from Gauden (*ib.* vi. 350).

[6] *Ib.* v. 160, 173.

[7] *Ib.* v. 373 (24 July, 1666). 'Two fleets despatched in better condition than ever any fleets were yet, I believe.'

[8] *Ib.* v. 375 (26 July, 1666).

[9] *Ib.* v. 414. See also 411, 413, 415, 416 (26, 27, 29, and 30 Aug. 1666).

[10] *Ib.* vi. 160 (3 Feb. 1666–7).

[11] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 367. Among other complaints it was represented that the ships are victualled with Cheshire cheese, half a pound for a pound, which the men extremely grumble at.

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[1] *Diary*, vii. 40, 41 (28 and 29 July, 1667).

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, p. xvii.

[3] *Ib.* p. xviii.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] Pepys represents Gauden as 'mightily troubled' at 'Penn's being put upon him by the Duke of York' (*Diary*, viii. 186: 23 Dec. 1668).

[6] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668–9, p. 208. Gauden had been knighted in 1667.

These frequent changes in the victualling arrangements do not appear to have effected any improvement in the efficiency of the service, for the fundamental difficulty was one of finance, and this a mere change of persons had no power to touch. In 1671 the victuallers complained bitterly of shortness of money. On 5 April they wrote to the navy board: 'We have not only exceedingly suffered in losing the opportunities of providing and saving of victuals in the most seasonable and cheapest times of the year . . . but his Majesty's service is daily under manifold inconveniencies for want of victuals to be always in a readiness both for the sea and harbour, which we are no ways able to prevent without we have payment as the contract doth direct. . . . Without those supplies of money as are needful and the contract provides for, . . . we are not able to supply his Majesty's ships any longer with victuals, either in harbour or at sea, nor discharge those foreign bills that have been drawn on and accepted by us for his Majesty's service, the want of punctual payment of which . . . is a manifold mischief to his Majesty's service.'[3] A report from the commissioners of the navy to the lords of the treasury on the state of the victuallers' accounts, dated 31 August, 1671,[4] shows that according to Sir

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 506. Papillon took the place of Sir Denny Ashburnham, who had been named in the contract as originally drawn, but had resigned at the last moment (*ib.* 1671–2, p. 37). The contract in its earlier form passed the Great Seal 4 November, 1671. The substitution took place 19 December (*ib.*).

[2] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxcix. 146.

[3] *Ib.* ccxcvii. 105.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 461.

Denis Gauden's account there remained unsatisfied to him on assignments over 91,000*l.*, besides further claims to above 50,000*l.* more. With regard to the current year, according to his contract the victualler ought to have received before 31 August 76,736*l.* in cash, but as a matter of fact he had received instead 66,068*l.* in orders, on which he had only received 36,000*l.* in cash.[1] The result of this failure to pay the victuallers was that the victuallers failed to pay their own creditors, and there are a good many complaints of this kind in the State Papers for the year.[2]

The difficulties of 1671 were only increased when the third Dutch war broke out in the spring of 1672. On 3 January the victuallers wrote to the navy board that they had hitherto carried on the service with their own money and credit, with the little supply received from the board, but it was impossible for them to proceed unless the money due to them by contract was paid.[3] They represented that by the 14th nearly 70,000*l.* would be due to them, and that in consequence of the stop of the exchequer they could receive nothing on account of the fee farm orders already negotiated—'a further disappointment' of 2,700*l.*[4] On 13 April they wrote that they were 15,364*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* in arrears on the last month's payment and 6,500*l.* in fee farm orders;[5] and on 8 May they claimed to have disbursed, in money and credits, about 100,000*l.* over and above what they had yet received.[6] On 13 August they wrote that their condition in respect of money was 'so exceeding strait at present' that they feared the service would suffer for want of provisions on the arrival of the fleet now expected in.[7] In view of this want of payment it is not at all surprising to find that the victuallers were attacked for their dilatoriness,[8] especially during the war. It was said that Prince Rupert was so annoyed at the want of provisions at the return of the fleet to the Nore in June, that he declared he would never thrive at sea till some were hanged on land;[1] and a little later he wrote to Lord Arlington that there was no way with the victuallers but to send Mr. Child or Mr. Papillon on shipboard, there to stay in what condition his Majesty shall think fitting till they have thoroughly victualled the fleet.[2]

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[1] See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, pp. 51, 128, 439.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 13, 33, 53, 58, 70, 71, 91, 100, 383, 551.

[3] *Ib.* 1671–2, p. 66.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* p. 318.

[6] *Ib.* p. 498.

[7] *Ib.* 1672, p. 484. For other references see pp. 31, 98, 106, 124, 453; and *ib.* 1673, p. 72.

[8] *Ib.* 1672, pp. 309, 316.

It is on the whole to the credit of the victuallers that the complaints of bad provisions are not more numerous than they are, during this period of large demands and scanty payment. On 15 March, 1671, there was a complaint from the Reserve of short weight, and of new beef being mixed with old, which so tainted the rest that 'there was a general complaint amongst the seamen, both of the badness of the meat and want of weight.'[3] A supply of bread was condemned as mouldy and unfit for food through being shipped before it was thoroughly dried;[4] and in October 1671 it was reported that on board four of the king's ships in the Thames the victuals were very unwholesome.[5] On 2 September, 1672, there was a complaint of bad beer in the Gloucester,[6] but the victuallers replied ambiguously that their beer was as good as ever was used in the fleet, and they counted themselves happy in that they had been afflicted with less bad beer 'by many degrees than ever was in such an action.'[7] Nevertheless on 21 September the captain of the Newcastle reported that he had thrown overboard 42 butts of beer, 'it being stinking and not fit for men to drink;'[8] and there were other complaints of defective beer and stinking pork from Chatham of about the same date.[9] On 29 September the captain of the Augustine wrote that in 20 butts or more he could not find four sweet, and the doctor attributed the sickness among his men to the extreme badness of the beer;[1] while the next day a protest was lodged against rotten cheese.[2] In 1673 the complaints were not frequent, and it may fairly be suggested that on the whole the victuallers were doing their best with the funds at their command; and that they were certainly doing a great deal better than at the time of the earlier war.

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. xi.

[2] *Ib.* p. 384.

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxcvii. 36. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 135.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 456.

[5] *Ib.* p. 529.

[6] *Ib.* 1672, p. 557; see also p. 650.

[7] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, cccxxix. 11.

[8] *Ib.* cccxxix. 37.

[9] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, pp. 659, 667.

In the spring of 1673, however, there was talk of a fresh change in the arrangements. On 15 May Sir R. Southwell wrote to Williamson[3] that the contract was to come to an end at Christmas by consent, Sir Denis Gauden and his son 'immediately disappearing.' 'Some say it will be hereafter managed by commissioners, but the three that stand[4] hope to engross it to themselves.' One cause of this may perhaps be found in a difference between the Gaudens and the rest of the victuallers, which came before the council on 20 June,[5] and dragged out its slow length as late as November 1673;[6] at any rate the idea of a new contract was taken up by the admiralty commissioners soon after their appointment in June 1673. On 8 August they wrote to the navy board: 'In order as well to the removing the occasions of the disputes frequently arising between yourselves and the contractors for the victualling of his Majesty's navy touching the constructions of their present contract, as to the better providing for the benefit of his Majesty's service therein for the time to come, we have thought it expedient that the said contract be entirely re-viewed.'[7] The members of the navy board were accordingly requested to obtain from Sir Jeremy Smyth, the comptroller of the victuallers' accounts, a report on the defects of the existing contract, and the way in which it had been discharged by the contractors, and to transmit this, with their own opinion thereupon, to the commissioners for their further consideration. In particular, their attention was called to two points which had been lately argued before the commissioners of the admiralty by the victuallers and the navy board:—(1) 'The antiquity, ground, and consequences of the present practices by them avowed of making good to the pursers (at their discretions) some part of your victualling warrants by money instead of provisions,' and (2) 'How far the victuallers of the navy are chargeable with, and what is to be added to the means his Majesty is already at the charge of . . . for preventing that insufferable evil which you lately declared his Majesty being exposed to and daily suffering under, through the combinations of the victuallers and pursers, in being obliged to the allowing victuals (and wages also, as some of your number asserted) to four or five hundred men on a ship, where there are not at the same time forty attending on board—a miscarriage of so much moment as calls no less for a strict account to be given us of the ground of it for the time past, than a most effectual provision for the preventing it for the time to come.'

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 668.

[2] *Ib.* p. 675.

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II.* cccxxxv. 176.

[4] *I.e.* Littleton, Child, and Papillon.

[5] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 381.

[6] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 287.

[7] *Ib.* ii. 57.

An interesting discussion of the abuses here referred to is to be found in a curious paper of about the same date, 'offered by Captain Stephen Pyend[1] (formerly a purser) to the Lord of Dartmouth about 1673 or 1674,'[2] a copy of which is among the Pepysian *Miscellanies.*[3] Under the title 'The Expense and Charge of his Majesty's Naval Victuals considered and regulated,' Pyend explains in detail the working of the existing system, under which the purser received from the victualler a proportion in money. The king's allowance of victuals to each man for seven days was as follows: 7 lbs. of biscuit, 7 gallons of beer, 4 lbs.

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[1] MS. 'Pine;' cf. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 194.

[2] But George Legge did not become Lord Dartmouth until 1682.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, iii. 723.

of beef, 2 lbs. of pork, ⅜ of a sized fish, 1 quart of pease, 6 ounces of butter, and 12 ounces of cheese.[1] It was the custom of the purser to leave one-eighth part of the victuals on shore, and receive the value from the victualler in money, on the ground that the 'necessary money' allowed by the king 'to provide necessaries, viz. wood, candle, platters, cans, spoons, &c., for boiling the meat, and the seamen's use in eating thereof, is not sufficient to defray the cost and charges of the said necessaries.' In serving out their allowance to the men he would make an 'abatement' of 'one-eighth part less in weight and measure than the king allows' in the biscuit, beer, butter, cheese, and pease. The beef, pork, and fish, not being served out to the men by weight, were not susceptible of this treatment, but here the purser was able to recoup himself by the victuals of absentees when the ship was in harbour, and 'by men being sick on board before put ashore, who seldom then eat the sea-victuals.' Pyend argues that the excuse offered for this arrangement is inadequate, and it really enriches the victualler and purser at the king's expense. The king's allowance of 6*d. per mensem* for 'necessary money' is sufficient if properly managed. One of the reasons alleged for its insufficiency is the seamen's extravagance in wood and candles. In future let the necessary money pass through the hands of the captain, and let him be responsible for checking an unreasonable consumption. This will 'extinguish the seamen's exorbitancies, the purser being generally the object of their emulation, but the captain of their awe; the former they delight to abuse, the latter they dare not.' On these grounds Pyend concludes that the 8*d.* extra *per mensem* 'lately allowed' over and above the *6d.* fixed by the victualling contract for 'necessary money' is a 'needless extravagant charge to the king.' To the second of the two abuses referred to Pyend only alludes in passing, but he appears to admit its existence. 'As for that supposed practice,' he says,[1] 'of pursers entering men in their sea-books some days before their being really in the ship, and also not discharging them till some days after gone from the ship, the like as to those that die or run away, which hath not only been a wrong to the king and a gain to the purser in the victuals, but the like also of the pay, if this chance to escape the commander's knowledge—no more of this to be said at present.'

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[1] This allowance does not appear to have been altered. It is practically the same as was described by Monson (Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 347), and was provided for in the victualler's contract of 1637 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1636–7, p. 452). So also in 1659; see Hollond's *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 153. It also corresponds with the allowance given in Battine's *Naval Calculations* in 1684 (Pepysian MSS. No. 977, p. 110).

Pyend's remedy for these abuses is peculiar to himself. He dismisses the idea of greatly increasing the pursers' salaries, and making them officials instead of traders, on the ground that they have been 'so accustomed to trade for themselves, and found so much advantage thereby;' and he also rejects the plan of establishing a check over the purser, because this will involve 'a certain charge upon the king for the salaries of all such checks, and the benefit by them unto the king uncertain,' and also because 'it hath . . . been observed that when checks have been employed, such understanding hath been between pursers and them that the thing was still the same or worse.' Instead of this Pyend proposes to throw the ultimate responsibility upon the commander, whom he regarded as the only incorruptible officer in the ship. He suggests that the pursers shall be abolished, and the stewards, who hitherto had been paid out of the pursers' own pockets, should receive an official status and 40*s.* a month over and above the king's pay to an able seaman. The commanders, for their 'further encouragement,' in consideration of the new duties thrown on them by the necessity of supervising the proceedings of the stewards, were to receive an addition to their pay of 3*l.* a month, which would enable them each to keep a clerk, who would not only keep the victualler's book of the receipts and issues of victuals, but also the sea-book of entries and discharges of men, 'and what other service the clerk may be useful for to the commander, as buying the ship's necessaries, messages to the victualling office . . . and the like.' The cost of the clerk would be not more than half the captain's increased pay, and the other half would go to himself. Pyend calculated that the cost of this new method in increased pay to the stewards and captains would be saved by the discontinuance of pursers on ships lying up in harbour, where they were quite unnecessary.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, iii. 724.

Though Pyend is interesting, it is not by any means clear that he was right. His statement that the 'necessary money' is sufficient if properly managed is directly contradicted by Hollond, who wrote in 1659, 'All men know (that is that know the navy) that the necessary money allowed by the state doth not bear much above half the expense of a purser in a voyage.'[1] The statement was no doubt a rhetorical exaggeration, but a petition of the pursers to the navy board, dated 2 April, 1673,[2] claims that the actual cost of necessaries in war time was 10*d.* a man per month if bought with ready money.

Pyend's suggestions for the reform of the pursers were not entirely novel. In 1651 the navy commissioners had suggested that the stewards should be employed for the victualling, that pursers should in future sail as clerks of the check with limited powers, and that all their papers should be countersigned by the captain; and this experiment was tried, and to all appearance successfully, until 1655, when the pursers were reinstated in their old position.[3] Perhaps one reason for the abandonment of this method may have been that the stewards received money from the victuallers in lieu of a part of the victuals and then deserted with it.[1] Another probably was that the captains, having no one to check them, were often worse than the pursers; and where the captain was purser the only remedy of the men would be mutiny. A later proposal for throwing more responsibility on the captains with regard to the victuals had been made by Thomas Middleton, the surveyor of the navy, in 1669. Pepys notes in the *Diary*, under date 28 February, 1668–9, that he had presented a paper to the Duke of York 'to have the captains account for all stores and victuals'—'but, Lord! it is a poor silly thing ever to think to bring it in practice in the king's navy.'[2]

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[1] *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vii.), p. 175.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673, p. 113.

[3] Oppenheim, pp. 356–7.

Nor did Pyend's suggestions escape the criticism of the eminent person to whom they were offered. To Pepys's copy of Pyend's paper are appended notes and criticisms by the Earl of Dartmouth. Most of these are on points of detail, but it is clear that he was opposed to Pyend's suggested reform on grounds that appear intelligible enough. ''Tis too troublesome and small a matter,' he writes, 'for the commanders to be charged with finding necessaries, as fire and candle, &c.; 'tis true he may now better restrain the extravagancy of the seamen for the purser, but if he comes once to do it for himself he will become the object of their hatred. . . . Notwithstanding what is said here, a purser is absolutely necessary, nor is it practicable in the English fleet that the commander should undertake the victualling; I appeal to those that will seriously consider both our captains and the nature of our common men; yet I wish the pursers were better regulated.'[3]

It is not possible to ascertain from the Pepysian papers how far the action of the commissioners of the admiralty in 1673 remedied the abuses complained of; but a new contract was signed in November of that year. The Gaudens remained in office, but the places of Littleton,

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1654, p. 186.

[2] *Diary*, viii. 239.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, iii. 736-7.

Child, and Papillon were taken by Sir Denny Ashburnham, Mr. Anthony Sturt, and Mr. Abraham Jaggard.[1] This combination appears to have worked well, notwithstanding the shortness of money in the navy, and Pepys's official correspondence contains but few complaints of the victualling department until 1678, when they begin again with their former frequency and insistence. On 31 December, 1674, the victualling in the Mediterranean had passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, formerly consul at Leghorn;[2] and on 23 January, 1676–7, Pepys wrote to him, to Sir Denis Gauden as victualler for Tangier, and to the regular victuallers of the navy, to give them notice of the king's intention to revise the existing arrangements.[3] The ultimate result of the negotiations was a new contract, made from 1 January, 1677–8, with 'Richard Brett, Samuel Vincent, and John Parsons, of London, Esquires,' 'men esteemed to be of so solid fortunes, and bound to his Majesty under terms so strict, as that his Majesty, my lords of the admiralty, and we, the officers of his navy, have great assurance given us that his Majesty's service shall be no more liable to any disappointment upon the score of victualling.'[4] This contract, bearing date 31 December, 1677, is copied into Pepys's volume of *Naval Precedents*.[5] As it deals with the details of the victualling at length, it throws some light on the administrative methods of the period.

The victuallers undertook 'well and sufficiently' 'to serve the victualling' of all mariners, soldiers, and others on board the king's ships, or ships hired by the king, either in harbour or at sea. Every man was

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 334 (Warrant to the navy board of 29 Nov. 1673). The name 'Sturt' is here 'Strutt.'

[2] This contract is to be found in Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents* (p. 455); as also a supplemental contract by which it was amended on 19 Feb. 1676-7 (p. 473).

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, v. 325.

[4] *Ib.* vi. 228.

[5] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, p. 416.

'to have for his allowance by the day one pound avoirdupois of good, clean, sweet, sound, well-bolted with a horsecloth, well-baked, and well-conditioned wheaten biscuit; . . . one gallon, wine measure, of beer, of such a standard as that every guile[1] of 20 tuns of ironbound beer shall be brewed with 20 quarters of very good malt, as good as generally is to be had at the place where the said beer is brewed, and a sufficient quantity of very good hops, to keep the same for the time of its warranty, and 18 quarters of the like malt, with the like quantity of the like sort of hops to every guile of 20 tuns of woodbound beer for sea, and the harbour beer to be good, sound, wholesome, and of sufficient strength; . . . two pounds avoirdupois of beef, killed and made up with salt in England,[2] of a well-fed ox, not weighing less than 5 cwt. for what shall be killed for sea-victualling in the port of London, and 4½ cwt. in any of the other ports hereafter mentioned, for Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; or instead of beef, for two of those days one pound avoirdupois of bacon, or salted English pork, of a well-fed hog not weighing less than three-quarters of a hundredweight, and a pint of pease (Winchester measure) therewith each of the said days; and for Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, every man, besides the aforesaid allowance of bread and beer, to have by the day the eighth part of a full-sized North Sea cod of 24 inches long, or a sixth part of a haberdine 22 inches long, or a quarter part of the same sort, if but 16 inches long, provided that the haberdine that shall be thus spent on his Majesty's ships consist not of more than a fish of one size on board any one ship, or a pound avoirdupois of well savoured Poor John, together with two ounces of butter, and four ounces of Suffolk cheese, or two-thirds of that weight of Cheshire.

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[1] A 'guile' is a brewer's vat, but the term was also used for the quantity produced at any single brewing.

[2] Pepys quotes 'Mr. Gibson' as saying 'The Irish meat is very unwholesome, as well as lean, and rots our men' (Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 146). See also Hollond's *Discourses of the Navy*, where the writer argues that to serve Irish beef was 'to the great discouragement of the seamen, who were forced to starve in a cook's shop—I mean to feed upon Irish beef in a place and time of plenty' (*N. R. S.* vol. vii. p. 177). The restriction to English beef and pork did not apply to harbour victuals.

In the case of vessels sailing 'to the southward of the latitude of 39° N.' it was allowable for the contractors to vary the diet:—

> In lieu of a pound of biscuit, a pound of rusk of equal fineness; in lieu of a gallon of beer, a wine quart of beverage wine or half a wine pint of brandy, with which last all ships going to Guinea or the East or West Indies shall be supplied for half the proportion at least of the drink they shall be ordered to take in; in lieu of a piece of beef or pork with pease, three pounds of flour and a pound of raisins (not worse than Malaga), or in lieu of raisins, half a pound of currants or half a pound of beef suet pickled; in lieu of a sized fish, four pounds of Milan rice or two stockfishes of at least 16 inches long; in lieu of a pound of butter, or two pounds of Suffolk cheese, a wine pint of sweet olive oil.[1]

The victuals thus provided were to be passed from time to time by the navy board, who appear to have exercised a general supervision over their quantity and quality. The victual was to continue fit for use during the space of six months from the time of its being received on board, namely, for all that shall be declared to be spent on this side the Canary Islands, or latitude of 27° N. latitude, and twelve months for what shall be issued to be spent to the southward of that place or latitude.

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[1] This variation of diet does not seem to have been popular among the men. In Captain Boteler's *Six Dialogues about Sea Services*, printed in 1685 but written some fifty years earlier, the 'admiral,' who having been just appointed to the 'high-admiralship' is occupied throughout the book in remedying a profound ignorance of naval matters by conversation with a 'sea-captain,' suggests that it would be better for the health of the mariners if the ordinary victualling were assimilated 'to the manner of foreign parts.' 'Without doubt, my lord,' replies the captain, 'our much, and indeed excessive feeding upon these salt meats at sea cannot but procure much unhealthiness and infection, and is questionless one main cause that our English are so subject to calentures, scarbots, and the like contagious diseases above all other nations; so that it were to be wished that we did more conform ourselves, if not to the Spanish and Italian nations, who live most upon rice-meal, oatmeal, biscake, figs, olives, oil, and the like, yet at the least to our neighbours the Dutch, who content themselves with a far less proportion of flesh and fish than we do, and instead thereof do make it up with pease, beans, wheat, flour, butter, cheese, and those white meats (as they are called).' To this view the admiral assents, but 'the difficulty consisteth,' he remarks, 'in that the common seamen with us are so besotted on their beef and pork as they had rather adventure on all the calentures and scarbots in the world than to be weaned from their customary diet, or so much as to lose the least bit of it' (p. 84).

In the case of victuals supplied by the victuallers being found defective at sea, and flung overboard, they were to make the defect good without charge, on a certificate 'under the hand of the commander and master, or two other warrant officers' of the ship. The victuallers were also to supply the pursers with 'necessary money' for providing 'wood, candles, dishes, cans, lanterns, spoons, and other necessaries'—

ninepence for every man *per mensem* in each ship bearing 60 men and under, and sixpence in every ship carrying above 60 men, and two shillings to every ship for loading charges by the month, together with the accustomary allowance for drawage, being fourpence per tun for every tun of beer the purser or steward indents for, and ten groats *per mensem* for adge-money,[1] viz., for so long time as the said ship shall be victualled for sea-service.

They were also to allow for the 'ordinary and extraordinary men in harbour' 'after the rate of 12*d.* per man a month.' But it was permissible under the contract for the victuallers to deliver the necessaries themselves, instead of their money equivalent. The pursers are in all cases to 'indent' for the victuals delivered to them before the ship goes to sea.

The contract of 1677 contains a series of special provisions relating to the supply of water and water-cask, which appear to be directed to previous delinquencies on the part of the contractors. They are to allow each ship 'four hogsheads with eight iron hoops on each, the said hoops to be hammered hoops of good substance and well wrought, and not milled hoops, for water-cask; with one bundle of wooden hoops and another of flags, for every 100 men a month;' but ships going to Guinea, or the West or East Indies, are to be supplied with more than this proportion, 'by five tuns for every 100 men for each month,' and ships going to the southward of 39° N. latitude are to have double. The cask furnished for foreign voyages is to be 'as good as those used in merchant ships on the same voyages,' and the contractors are to supply more than the proportion thus fixed without extra payment, if ordered to do so by the navy board, provided that the cask supplied in the whole year to all the ships does not exceed the limits fixed by the contract. The water-cask delivered by the victuallers shall be delivered full of 'such good, sweet, fresh water as is commonly made use of at the ports where the said cask are issued,' but they are to be paid for freight and labour what shall be 'judged reasonable' by the navy board.

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[1] MS. 'addz.' Hollond, in his *Second Discourse* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 154, refers to 'necessaries, drawage, and adge money.' 'Adge' is a north country form of 'addice' or 'adze.' Thus 'adge money' might be 'tool money'—but this is only a conjecture.

The arrangements for issuing the victuals were somewhat complicated, and appear to have been designed to prevent pursers having command of cash. Victuals to be spent at sea were to be issued by the warrant of 'the lord high admiral, or lords of the admiralty for the time being,' or of three or more of the navy board, or of 'the commander in chief of a fleet or squadron,' or of 'the particular commander of any ship in cases not admitting of the time requisite for procuring any of those before recited.' Victuals to be spent in harbour 'by the extraordinary' were to be issued on the warrant of 'the clerk of the check of the port where the same is to be issued,' and 'by the ordinary' on that of 'clerk of the check and master attendant, where any is.' The victuals named in the warrants are to be delivered by the contractors in kind, unless the captain or master of the ship 'shall under his hand certify . . . the incapacity of his ship to receive the same,' in which case, 'and that only,' they are to be allowed to make good the remainder 'by such credits as shall be readily answered unto them on the behalf of his Majesty at the very next victualling port where the same shall be demanded ;' unless the ship so victualled be intended for foreign service, 'in which case, and that only, the purser shall receive from the said victuallers ready money' for so much of the victualling as the navy board shall 'by warrant under their hands' direct.

Victuals thus issued by warrant were to be delivered at the ship's side within twenty-four hours after demand, without charge to the king. The ship's company were to assist in the unloading of the hoys and lighters, and the king was liable for demurrage if these were detained above five 'working days' in delivering sea victuals, and one day for harbour victuals, 'from the time of their arrival to the king's ships.' The master of the hoy or lighter was entitled to a receipt from the purser or steward 'for the just quantity of victuals delivered by him.' For the purpose of this delivery of victuals, however, the king's ships were required to be 'within the limits of the ports from whence the said victuals are to be sent,'

which limits are as followeth, viz.: From Milford unto any place within St. Anne's Head ; from Bristol unto Kingroad or Hungroad, or any other place where the king's ships usually anchor at ; from Plymouth unto the Sound, or any other part of the harbour within the Ram Head and Mew Stone where ships usually anchor at ; from Portsmouth unto Spithead, Stokes Bay, or St. Helen's Road ; from Dover unto Dover Road, and into the Downs ; from London unto the Buoy of the Nore, and up to Chatham ; from Harwich into the Rolling Grounds and Hollesley Bay ;[1] from Newcastle unto any place within the bar ; from Leith unto Burntisland[2] or within five leagues of Leith to any other place of safety ; from Kinsale unto any other place within the Old Head ; from Tangier into the boats of the ships which are to be victualled, the said boats lying at the Mole at the time of loading, and the crews of the said boats assisting in the taking in of the said victuals; and from Lisbon to the common and usual places where merchant ships take in their goods, not further distant from Lisbon than Belle Isle.

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[1] MS. 'Oasely.'

[2] MS. 'Brunt Island.'

If the contractors were required to deliver victuals beyond these limits, they were to be entitled to reasonable freights.

The victuallers undertook to keep 'a constant store or staple of sea-provisions' to answer emergencies, for 4,000 men for two months of twenty-eight days each—namely, for 2,700 men at the port of London, and for 1,300 men at the port of Portsmouth. This distribution might be altered from year to year by the navy board by a declaration made for the following year by or before 15 October in the year preceding, 'or the former distribution to stand;' but the victuallers were not to be required to supply from this magazine more than once in one year. In addition to this 'staple,' they were to provide 'such further quantities of sea-provisions in any of the ports whose limits are before mentioned, and in such proportions in each port as shall be yearly declared' by the navy board for the following year by or before 15 October in each year; and again, 'what further quantities shall at any other time in like manner be required' at fourteen days' notice by an additional declaration made any time before 31 December, and at twenty-eight days' notice if made within the victualling year itself. The victuals provided under these 'declarations' were to be provided in such manner that the king's ships would not be forced 'to stay above 48 hours (wind and weather permitting) for any part of the provisions in any of the ports so annually declared for;' provided that warrants for the first victualling of each ship be sent to the contractors at the same time as the ship is ordered to be fitted for sea, and that they receive notice from the captain of the ship, 'or any master attendant or clerk of the check,' when the ship is 'in areadiness to receive' the victuals. If any 'extraordinary occasion' should arise, the victuallers undertook, over and above the 'staple' or reserve for 4,000 men, to supply additional victuals at the aforesaid ports after twenty-eight days' notice in writing from the navy board up to the value of 60,000*l.*, provided that 'this credit . . . is not to be given . . . more than once in any one year.'

The 'charges of wastes and losses of all victuals' were to be borne by the contractors, except in cases where they were able 'by the oath of two credible persons' to 'charge the occasion of that waste or damage upon the king or his officers;' and 'losses upon beer, beverage, or brandy delivered in lieu of beer' 'other than the ordinary waste,' happening outside the limits of the port and due to the badness of the cask, were also to be borne by the contractors.

The arrangements in the contract for keeping the victualling accounts were very elaborate. The victuallers were to 'bring' quarterly or half-yearly to the navy board an account of the victuals issued by them during that period, 'together with the several warrants by which they issued the same, and the indents or receipts of the respective pursers or stewards,' which 'for more certainty' were to be after a set form of words.[1] They were also to

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[1] 'I........................., purser of his Majesty's ship........................., do acknowledge to have received of R. B., S. V., and J. P., victuallers of his Majesty's navy at the port of........................., a compleat proportion of good and wholesome sea-victuals for.........................men ....dayes, beginning the.................. day of........................., and ending the..................day of.........................in the manner following, viz. :—

—	Bisquet	Beere			Beef	Porke	Pease		Fish	Butter	Cheese	Caske			Iron Hoops	Biskt. Bags	Necessary Money		
	Lbs.	Tuns	Hogshds.	Galls.	4-lb. Pieces	2-lb. Pieces	Bush.	Galls.	Sized	Lbs.	Lbs.	Tuns	Hogshds.	Pñ			£	*s.*	*d.*
Whereof :— In water-cask . In kinde In money By credit																			

send duplicates of these indents to the comptroller of the victualling, 'viz. within seven days after its date for what shall be delivered in London, Harwich, Dover, and Portsmouth, and three days after their . . . receiving any from remoter ports.' With these materials before them the navy board, or any three or more of them whereof the comptroller of the victualling was to be one, were 'forthwith' to 'examine and make up' the victuallers' accounts. In addition to this, a general account of all issues was to be stated every twelve months, in which were to be 'expressly included' all extraordinary demands to be made by the victuallers 'upon the account of any service by them done, or charge or loss by them sustained or otherwise within the preceding twelve months,' and the navy board and the auditors of the imprests were empowered 'from time to time upon their passing the accounts . . . to give and make allowance for all such extraordinary services.' The accounts having been thus adjusted, any balance due on either side was then to be paid.

The victuallers were authorised by their contract to 'have the use and occupying of his Majesty's brewhouses, bakehouses, mills, granaries, and storehouses, as well at the Tower Hill as at Dover, Portsmouth, Rochester, and Kinsale in Ireland, with all the grounds, profits, or commodities to them or any of them belonging or appertaining,' on condition that they kept them in good repair and paid 'such rents as were heretofore paid his Majesty;' but 'one convenient room' was to be reserved at each place 'for the use of such person as his Majesty, or the lord high admiral, or lords commissioners for executing the said office for the

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with which victuals, money, and credit before mentioned, I doe oblige myselfe to victuall (according to his Majesty's allowance) the said number of men for the said time.' The indent was to be dated 'in words at length, and not in figures,' by the purser who was to sign it, and 'the provisions which are therein mentioned to bee upon credit, shalbe repeated at the bottom or on the back side of the said indent, and against each of the said species the true quantity thereof which was not delivered in kinde, but remaines to bee made good by credit.'

time being, shall at any time hereafter think fit to appoint for the inspecting or otherwise attending the business of the victualling.'

In the case of beer or other provisions duly provided by the contractors according to declaration, and then not issued 'by reason of the sudden discharge of the mariners or otherwise,' 'the loss that shall grow as well in the said beer as other provisions, as also in the cask, cooperage, and transportation (if any be),' was to be borne by the contractors unless 'the provision that shall be so made be to serve above 4,000 men for two months;' in that case the king was to allow the contractors three halfpence a man *per diem* on the victuals then left upon their hands over and above this limit, but he was to have the option of purchasing them at the ordinary contract rates. These were fixed at 6*d.* a day for harbour victuals and 7¾*d.* a day for sea-victuals; but 'for every man's allowance to be spent' to the southward of the Canary Islands, or of 27° N. latitude, 8*d.* a day, as also for victuals put on board at Tangier or Lisbon. This fixed payment was for whole proportions, as ordinarily served on board ships victualling for sea. 'Broken proportions' were only to be issued 'upon extraordinary accidents,' under special warrant, and then they were to be charged according to the following tariff:—

—	For the Harbour.	For the Seas to the Northward of the Canarys, or 37 [*sic*] degrees of North Lattitude.	For Guinny, East and West Indies, Tangier, Lisbon, and for Ships Victualled in the Mediterranean.
Bread, per pound .	1*d.*	1⅓*d.*	1¾*d.*
Beer, per tun . .	£1 7*s.* 6*d.*	£2 11*s.* 3*d.*	£2 11*s.* 3*d.*
Beef, per 4-lb. piece	9*d.*	10*d.*	12*d.*
Pork, per 2-lb. piece	6½*d.*	7*d.*	7¾*d.*
Pease, per bushel .	3*s.* 4*d.*	4*s.* 5*d.*	5*s.*
Fish, sized . .	7*d.*	8¾*d.*	9½*d.*
Butter, per pound .	4*d.*	5*d.*	5¼*d.*
Cheese, per pound .	2*d.*	2½*d.*	2½*d.* and ½ farthing
Beveridge, per tun	. . .	. . . .	£10 5*s.* 0*d.*
Figolas, per bushel	. . .	. . . .	5*s.*
Rice, per pound .	. . .	. . . .	2¼*d.* and ½ farthing
Oyle, per pound .	. . .	. . . .	5¼*d.*

In the matter of payment the king makes promises with something more than his usual zeal. For 'the better encouraging' the victuallers 'to undergo the said service' they shall 'have and receive infallibly (by God's assistance), the last day of every month . . . out of the money payable upon receipt of his Majesty's exchequer by the commissioners or farmers of his Majesty's Great Customs for the time being the sum of 467*l.*, which is the sum that the harbour victuals of his Majesty's ships in ordinary will probably amount unto;' and for the annual declaration for sea victuals or petty warrant victuals in extraordinary 'by 10 equal monthly payments without any imprest advanced, and October to be reputed the first month of the ten.' Supplementary declarations were also to be paid monthly in so many equal portions as there remain months in the year unexpired after the supplementary declaration was made. Victuals issued from the 'staple' or reserve were to be paid for on demand. Remains at the end of a voyage were to be fetched away by the contractors, who were to allow the king for them three-quarters of the price originally paid. These might be served out again to ships in ordinary by consent of the navy board, but in no case to ships in sea-victuals. The contract was to begin from 1 January, 1677–8, and was to continue indefinitely, with a year and a quarter's notice on either side. During its continuance the contractors were to have a monopoly, since 'no other persons' (except as provided in the separate contract for the Mediterranean)[1] were to 'intrude or meddle with' the victualling, unless through their failure.

An important clause in the contract, and apparently a novel one, provided that

> forasmuch as the said [contractors] are to bear the over prices, waste, and losses of all victuals, and all charges incident thereunto, his Majesty doth agree that they shall have one servant or deputy (if they think good) in each

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[1] See p. 165, *supra.*

> ship that his Majesty setteth out unto the seas, to be entered by the clerk of the check into victuals and wages, as one of the ship's company in the capacity aforesaid, and to be well used and entreated, to the end that if they think fit he may see to and direct the orderly stowage and expending of the provision of victuals, and witness such wastes and losses as shall fall out at sea.

They were also empowered by another clause,

> as often as the want thereof shall appear to the lord high admiral, or lords commissioners appointed for executing the place of lord high admiral, or the principal officers and commissioners of the navy . . . to impress such labourers and artificers, and also such carts, ships, hoys, lighters, boats, and other vessels for the land and water carriage, as his Majesty's service shall from time to time require, they paying unto each of them such hire, wages, and freight, as shall be at the same time commonly given for the same by other merchants and tradesmen.

The elaborate provision in the contract for the proper packing and weighing of the victuals is curious. No beer was to be issued but in such casks as have been measured by a sworn gauger; and flour casks are to be 'wind and water tight.' The contractors undertook that their beef and pork 'shall always hold out such weight as that every 28 pieces of beef cut for 4-lb. pieces, took out of the cask as they rise, and the salt shaken off it, shall weigh 100 lb. avoirdupois weight; and every 56 pieces of bacon or salted pork cut for 2-lb. pieces, and took out of its cask and shaken as in the beef, shall weigh 104 lb. neat avoirdupois.' In case of shortness of weight, the purser shall be empowered to make allowance to the seamen in money or victuals, and the contractors shall 'make present satisfaction to the purser without delay in the next victualling port where it shall be demanded.' The contractors also agree to supply beef only in 4-lb. pieces and pork only in 2-lb. pieces, 'and that at no time there shall be any unusual pieces put up with the other flesh, or apart for the use of the ships' companies, such as leg bones, shins of oxen, or the cheeks of hogs, or ox-hearts;'[1] and undertake to allow the navy board or persons appointed by them 'at all times to survey the flesh slaughtered for the use of his Majesty's navy before the same be cut into mess-pieces, and to refuse such thereof as shall be found unfit for his Majesty's service by leanness, or unfirmness, or measliness in the pork, or any other bad quality in the flesh.'

Although the Mediterranean victualling is not included in the contract of 1677, it was provided that after 31 December, 1678, when Sir Thomas Clutterbuck's contract expired, this also would be taken over by the ordinary victuallers at the rates of the ordinary contract. But for this purpose, instead of 1 lb. of biscuit, they were to supply 1 lb. of rusk, 'equal in fineness to the biscuit that is to be issued in England;' instead of one gallon of beer, 'one quart of good, well-conditioned beverage wine of Naples, Provence, Turkey, Zante, or other places whose wine is of like goodness, without mixture, and of such strength as that it shall be able to preserve the water from stinking when three times the quantity of the wine shall be added to it in water, together with so much water as shall be commonly mixed with the said wine at the time when it is used by the seamen;' instead of 1 pint of pease, 1 pint Winchester measure of 'figolas;' instead of a piece of beef, 3 lb. of flour and 1 lb. of raisins 'not worse than Malaga,' or in lieu of raisins, ½ lb. of currants, or ½ lb. of 'beef suet pickled,' for one day in each week, 'the captain of the ship approving thereof;' instead of an eighth part of a sized fish, ½ lb. of Milan rice, or a fourth part of a stockfish at least 16 inches long, or 1 lb. of 'well savoured Poor John;'[2] and one quarter and half a quarter of a pint of sweet olive oil, in lieu of 2 ounces of butter and 4 ounces of Suffolk cheese. The rate at which these victuals were to be supplied was fixed at 8*d.* a man per day. In Sir Thomas Clutterbuck's contract the rate was $8\frac{3}{4}$*d.*[1] In case of disputes arising between the victuallers and the king's officers concerning matters for which the contract did not provide, the contracting parties pledged themselves to abide by 'the ancient practice of the navy in that case, the said practice to be reckoned from before the eighteenth year of the reign of his late Majesty of blessed memory.'

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[1] This was an old grievance in the navy: see Hollond's *Discourses* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 178.

[2] 'Poor John' is dried hake (Camden *Miscellanies*, iv. 32): *cf. Romeo and Juliet*, i. 1; *Tempest*, ii. 2.

The credit of this improved contract of 1677 was claimed by Pepys,[2] and if the victuallers failed to carry out their engagements it was certainly not for want of precision or minuteness in the legal instrument by which they were bound. But Pepys also notes in his minute-book[3] the fatal connexion between unpunctual payment and a bad supply. 'Bad payment of the victuallers and other contractors,' he writes, 'has always been made use of and prevailed in excuse for every failure of theirs wherein the service suffered; and yet has entitled them to get payment afterwards, when those failures and the consequences were slipped out of mind, or at least might be extenuated; or the heads of the king's officers full of other business, or otherwise tempted not to make the most of them, and in the meantime under those necessities of the king's service anything is accepted instead of good, because the service must be supplied, and better was not to be had.'

Pepys himself appears to have expected much from the new contract. In a long letter of 19 November, 1677, written to Sir John Narbrough in the Mediterranean,[1] he meets his complaints of 'the want of necessary money to the pursers, as also for beverage wine, and allowance for the sick and wounded,' and the 'ship's being pestered with the pipestaves, through the victuallers' agent at Tangier his refusing to discharge the ships of them,' by urging that these are 'but several branches of that greater defect about the victualling of the navy, which his Majesty and my lords of the admiralty do look on as thoroughly provided against by their coming to a new contract.' But an administrator of Pepys's experience of the methods of the navy can scarcely have been surprised to find his own expectations in this matter unfulfilled. The first serious complaint of delay is dated 11 March, 1677–8;[2] on 13 May we hear of the badness of the victuals supplied[3]—'the serving of the king's ships with shanks, which,' says Pepys,[4] '(as I remember) have always been excepted against, and yet if my information be true, no less than 21 legs was found in 58 pieces of beef lately delivered on board the Cambridge, and bread so mouldy as that within 5 or 6 days' time the poor men were forced to cut away above one-third of it before it was fit to be eaten, by reason of its mouldiness.' On 26 July there was a further complaint of delay, and of the 'ill quality of the brandy' supplied;[5] on 7 August Pepys writes to the navy board,[6] 'I am extremely sorry to meet with such daily complaints as I do touching the badness of the provisions sent on board his Majesty's ships,' and refers to a letter just received from one of the captains, 'complaining of the badness not only of his beer but his other provisions, and setting forth the very ill effects thereof upon the healths of his men.' On 2 December, in another letter to the navy officers, Pepys refers to the 'backwardness' of the victuallers as 'that great point which gives both you and me so much pain,'[1] and again on 3 December as 'matter of mighty affliction' to himself.[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS., No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 464. Among the State Papers of 1671 there is an offer from Sir Edward Spragge to supply the king's ships in the Mediterranean 'with as good provisions as money can buy, or any of his Majesty's ships ever had in these seas' at 9*d.*, with a number of reasons appended why it 'cannot be undertook to be performed so cheap and well by any other hands' (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxcviii. 49_1).

[2] 'I was the first that took the pains to bring the victualling contract to what it now is' (Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 61).

[3] *Ib.* p. 95.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 228.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 422.

[3] *Ib.* vii. 151.

[4] *Ib.* vii. 153.

[5] *Ib.* vii. 391.

[6] *Ib.* viii. 15.

In the year following matters were even worse. In March 1679 Sir Robert Robinson's fleet for the west was delayed 'many days' at Portsmouth, which led Pepys to declare: 'I know not how possibly to lament enough the wretched state his Majesty's service must be in while it lies under this uncertainty of being supplied with stores and provisions' at this port, and to admit at the same time 'the yet greater uncertainty of . . . meeting with any despatch at Plymouth.'[3] On 26 March the victuallers are informed that 'his Majesty and my lords of the admiralty' have 'taken solemn notice of the great delays daily met with,' notwithstanding the 'frequent solicitations' of the navy board, and that they have appointed a meeting at eight o'clock in the morning of the following day 'expressly for receiving what satisfaction' the victuallers 'shall be then prepared to give them in reference to' the 'said delays.'[4] What the result of this desperate measure was we do not know, and Pepys went out of office in May; but it is clear from many of the references in the *Admiralty Letters* that the main cause of the trouble was want of money, and this was not removed.

What Pepys would have done if he had remained in office we do not know, but his successors, described as 'supine' in other departments, decided to revolutionise the whole method of the victualling, and to abandon contract in favour of a state victualling department, resembling in its general character the system which had been established under the Commonwealth in August 1655 and had continued until the Restoration.[5] On 10 December, 1683, a patent was issued[6] constituting Sir Richard Haddock, Anthony Sturt, John

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, viii. 365.

[2] *Ib.* viii. 370. [3] *Ib.* ix. 140, 142. [4] *Ib.* ix. 151.

[5] A discussion of the relative merits of the two systems occurs in Hollond's *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 154.

[6] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 48.

Parsons, and Nicholas Fenn commissioners for victualling, as 'more conducible to our service, as well in lessening the charge of victualling our navy as in furnishing the same at all times with good and wholesome provisions.' They were empowered by the patent to contract for victuals and whatever else was necessary for carrying on the service, and from 1 January, 1684, they were to have handed over to them all the king's 'victualling offices, houses, brewhouses, bakehouses, mills, granaries, cooperages, and storehouses, as well at the Tower Hill in London (where we will that the principal victualling office shall be kept and you the said commissioners shall from time to time give your attendance), as also at Dover, Portsmouth, Rochester, Kinsale in Ireland, or elsewhere.' The commissioners were authorised to appoint clerks, agents, purveyors at salaries to be 'first settled and approved' by the treasury, and to cause payments to be made at their discretion by warrant to their cashier, such payments being inserted in quarterly bills to be allowed from time to time by the treasury. They were also empowered 'of their own motion, without warrant,' to sell all unserviceable provisions to the best advantage, and 'as often as it shall be needful for our service in time of extraordinary action or otherwise' to hire labourers, carts, or hoys at the rates 'at the same time commonly given by merchants.' The commissioners were to receive a salary of 400*l.* apiece, and were to be 'exempted from serving in juries or bearing any civil or military office.' This commission was not in any way to 'impeach or prejudice' Sir Richard Haddock's commission as comptroller of the navy.

The 'instructions' annexed to this patent follow in all material particulars the terms of the contract of 1677, those parts of the contract which were now unnecessary being omitted. The commissioners were instructed 'not any manner of way to be interested or concerned in selling of victuals, or any other stores, necessaries, or utensils whatsoever for the service of the victualling, or in and benefit or advantage which may arrive thereby; ' and they were to take care that the whole service be managed ' with all possible good husbandry for the king.' Before the end of March in each year they were to submit to the navy board ' an account, signed by themselves, of the victualling for the preceding year; ' and they were to ' take care that their cashier be the treasurer of the navy's instrument, and such a person as he will be responsible for, and likewise that he reside at the victualling office on Tower Hill, there to issue out the moneys for the services aforesaid on behalf of the said trade.'

If we may infer anything from the silence of the *Admiralty Letters*, this change of method resulted in an improvement in the victualling of the navy. A few complaints were made in 1685,[1] but an inquiry was ordered in each case by the navy board, and on the whole the victualling office did not come out badly under the test of mobilisation in 1688. At first the delays caused a good deal of anxiety,[2] notwithstanding the fact that the victualling commissioners were empowered by royal warrant to ' press labourers, artificers, and others ' for their service in the victualling.[3] They were summoned no less than three times in eight days to report progress to the king himself,[4] and to listen to his earnest remonstrances,[5] but the earnest remonstrances were not without results. The necessity for mobilisation had been realised about the middle of August. By the end of October Pepys was able to report that the fleet is ' now (God be thanked) at the

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xi. 290, 341, 360.

[2] *Ib.* xv. 90, 93, 100, 157, 164–5.

[3] *Ib.* xv. 46. See also pp. 36, 38.

[4] *Ib.* xv. 105 (7 Oct.); xv. 117 (8 Oct.); xv. 149 (14 Oct.).

[5] 'That nothing might be wanting that might contribute aught to the quickening the victuallers, I moved his Majesty to require their attendance on him this night at the Cabinet, where accordingly they were, and were urged with all the fervour the king could express to the losing no time that can possibly be saved in the despatching away provisions to you.' *Ib.* xv. 105 (S. P. to Lord Dartmouth, Sunday, 7 Oct. 1688).

Gunfleet, and in very good condition there.'[1] There were still more ships to be got ready for sea, but of these he writes, 'I do with the same zeal continue to press the despatch of the rest that are behind that I would do for my victuals if I were hungry.'[2]

6. *Discipline*

One of the earlier acts of the government of the Restoration was the passing of a statute to incorporate into the system of English law the ordinances already in force during the Interregnum for regulating the discipline of the navy. Before that time such crimes as murder and manslaughter on board ship had been punishable by the ordinary law,[3] and lesser offences by the 'known orders and customs of the seas.'[4] In March 1649 the House of Commons passed some ordinances for the better government of Warwick's fleet, adopting for this purpose the traditional rules of the navy; and in December 1652 these were further elaborated into the first articles of war to which the service had ever been subjected.[5] It was upon these articles of war that the Act of 1661[1] was founded. By this captains at sea are empowered to try a great variety of offences by court-martial, and for many of these the maximum penalty is death. Such offences were—besides murder, giving intelligence to the enemy, or supplying him with money, victuals, or ammunition—embezzlement of the tackle or any part of the equipment of a ship; desertion, mutiny, quarrelling with or striking a superior officer; wilfully setting fire to a ship or its equipment; sleeping on watch; robbery and theft. Spies were also liable to the death penalty, and captains, officers, and seamen who did not conduct themselves properly in the face of the enemy. Swearing, drunkenness, or 'other scandalous actions in derogation of God's honour and corruption of good manners' were punishable by court-martial with penalties short of death, as also quarrelling, wasting ammunition, and neglect in steering a ship. Persons attempting 'to stir up any disturbance' about the unwholesomeness of the victuals were also liable; their complaints were to be made quietly to the superior officer. Taking goods for prize before judgment in a prize court was also punishable by court-martial, saving the right of the ship's company to all goods found upon or above the gun-deck, other than those belonging to the ship's equipment. Among these provisions relating to discipline a clause also occurs requiring captains at sea to provide for public worship on board their ships, and for the observance of the Lord's Day. No death sentence could be passed by a court consisting of less than five captains, and, except in case of mutiny, no such sentence could be executed in the Narrow Seas without the permission of the lord high

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xv. 250 (26 Oct.). See also pp. 219–20, 256–7, 284.

[2] *Ib.* xv. 241.

[3] 'And if any seaman or other person in your ship shall commit murder or manslaughter you are to give notice thereof to the chief of your squadron, that he may be sent in safety to the next gaol, and receive trial according to law' (Pepysian MSS. No. 2611, *Penn's Collections*, p. 95 : 'Instructions for the Admiralty, 1647').

[4] 'And if any shall raise faction, tumult, or conspiracy, or shall quarrel, fight, or draw blood, or weapon to that end, or be a common swearer, blasphemer, drunkard, railer, pilferer, or sleep at his watch, or make noise, or not betake himself to his place of rest after the watch is set, or shall not keep his cabin cleanly, or be discontented with his proportion of victuals assigned, or shall spoil or waste them or any other necessary provisions for the ship, or shall go on board or on shore without leave, or shall commit any other insolency and disorder or be found guilty of any other crime or offence, you are to use due severity in the precise punishment and reformation thereof, without delay, according to the nature of the offence and known orders and customs of the seas' (*ib.*).

[5] See Oppenheim, p. 311. Neither the ordinances of the Commonwealth nor the legislation of the Restoration abrogated the 'customs

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of the seas.' An account of the punishments inflicted under them in Charles I's reign is given in Oppenheim, p. 239. Equally curious penalties are described in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667-8, pp. xxi, 478, 494, 517, 550.

[1] 13 Car. II, c. 9, *An Act for the Establishing Articles and Orders for the Regulating and better Government of His Majesty's Navies, Ships of War, and Forces by Sea.*

admiral, or beyond them unless it was confirmed by the commander-in-chief of the fleet or squadron. Commissions to hold a court-martial are to be granted by the lord high admiral. This Act continued in force until it was repealed by 22 Geo. II, c. 33.

In 1664 another statute[1] of some importance was passed which bore indirectly upon naval discipline. Two matters especially had given a great deal of trouble to the navy board—the frequent embezzlement of naval stores, and the riots among disappointed seamen who could not get their pay. Efforts had already been made to prevent embezzlement by adopting special modes of manufacture for the king's rope, sails, and pennants, and by marking other goods with the broad arrow[2]—as, for instance, timber felled for the navy in the Forest of Dean, which was to be thus marked on the butt and top.[3] The state's mark had been placed upon anchors as early as 1657,[4] but a great many stores, such as nails and some sorts of ironwork, could not be thus marked. Ironwork in particular was especially favoured by the depredators, because it could be so easily disposed of. In August 1663 an illicit storehouse was discovered at Deptford as a place for the reception of nails, iron shot, and other embezzled ironwork—described as the 'gulf that swallows up all from any place brought to him.'[5] In April 1664 Christopher Pett at Woolwich dockyard caught the servant of the carpenter of the Henrietta stealing old iron. He put him in the stocks and threatened him with whipping, which induced him to confess that he sold it to one of the smiths in the town. Pett asks for a warrant to search the smith's house, and those of the rest of that trade.[6] The riots also had been a serious matter.[7] As early as 21 March, 1662–3 Pepys had drawn up a statement of the inconvenience that resulted from the fact that the principal officers and commissioners of the navy were not justices of the peace in the corporations in which their affairs lay, and so were unable to take summary proceedings against unruly sailors,[1] and a bill had been actually drafted which would have enabled them to commit to prison any disturber of naval affairs.[2] Both these points were dealt with by the Act of 1664. The preamble gives as the ground of legislation 'diverse fightings, quarrellings, and disturbances . . . in and about his Majesty's offices, yards, and stores,' and 'frequent differences and disorders' which had occurred on pay-days in London, Portsmouth, and elsewhere, due either to 'the unreasonable turbulency of seamen' or 'the rudeness of the officers entrusted with his Majesty's stores on land or in his royal ships when they are questioned by the principal officers and commissioners . . . either for neglect, or embezzlement of his Majesty's provisions, ammunitions, or other equipage of the navy under their charge.' To meet this state of things the navy board, or any two of them, are invested by the Act with some of the powers of magistrates. They are empowered (1) to punish by a fine not exceeding 20*s.*, and imprisonment not exceeding one week, all persons who make 'any disturbance, fighting, or quarrelling in the yards, stores, or offices aforesaid, at pay-days, or on other occasions relating to the naval services,' and (2) to inquire and search by warrant for stores and ammunition 'imbezilled and filched away,' and either to punish the offenders by fine and imprisonment as aforesaid, or to commit them for trial at a higher court. Fines levied by the navy board under this statute were to go to the Chest at Chatham. The Act of 1664 was to last only for two years, 'and thence to the end of the next session of Parliament,' but it was renewed in a very similar form for the same period in 1666.[1] This Act, useful as it was, did not entirely stop embezzlement. In September 1666 a prize worth 300*l.* was plundered of her lading, and 'will soon be dismantled of all her rigging, till she will not have a rope's end left to hang herself, or the thievish seamen that go in her.'[2] In September 1667 the clerk of the survey at Chatham writes to Sir William Batten to say that that harbour has always been 'miserably infested' with 'thieves and pilfering rogues,' and 'their trade is grown to that perfection that they know how to have returns for the most inconsiderable things they steal.' 'A rope cannot lie in the river but it is either shortened or taken away.'[3] Similar complaints also came from Deptford.[4] In February 1667–8 the clerk of the check at Chatham complains that 'our people's hands are of late so inured to stealing that if the sawyers leave any work in the pits half cut, as they are often forced to do, it's a hazard whether they find it in the morning.'[5] Of course this state of things was partly, if not entirely, due to uncertainty of pay. As far as the riots of seamen were concerned, this legislation was a complete failure, as for their grievances force was no remedy. 'After dinner,' writes Pepys on 4 November, 1665, when the Act of 1664 might be supposed to be in full operation, 'I to the office and there late, and much troubled to have 100 seamen all the afternoon there, swearing below and cursing us, and breaking the glass windows, and swear they will pull the house down on Tuesday next. I sent word of this to court, but nothing will help it but money and a rope.'[1] In October 1666 we hear of a guard of 24 soldiers stationed at the navy office to keep order on pay-days.[2] For frequent notices of riots see the *Diary*.[3]

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[1] 16 Car. II, c. 5.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 152.

[3] *Ib.* p. 350.

[4] *Ib.* 1657–8, p. 407.

[5] *Ib.* 1663–4, p. 249.

[6] *Ib.* p. 549. For other cases of embezzlement see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663–4, *passim*; *Diary*, ii. 280 (13 July, 1662).

[7] See pp. 118–20, *supra*.

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[1] 'Unruliness' seems to have been common to all persons employed in the navy. On 9 March, 1662–3, Captain Lancaster, writing from Portsmouth, asked for a separate room in the new storehouse as a workroom, 'as seamen and carpenters will never agree to work together' (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, lxix. 43). On 15 August, 1663, the clerk of the Portsmouth ropeyard complained of the workmen employed there. By hasty spinning they finished what they called a day's work by dinner-time, and then refused to work again till 4 o'clock. 'Yesterday,' he writes, 'about twenty-five of them left the work to go to the alehouse, where, I think, they remain' (*ib.* lxxviii. 105. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1663–4, pp. 244 and 276). On 26 March, 1664, the shipwrights and caulkers at Deptford are complained of because they work very slowly, and 'give ill language' when pressed to work (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, xcv. 147). Later on, in Jan. 1670–1, Commissioner John Cox appears to have had almost as much trouble with the master workmen and their instruments in Chatham dockyard. They were remiss in their attendance, and met his efforts at their amendment by passive resistance (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 44).

[2] *Ib.* 1663–4, p. 82.

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[1] By 18 and 19 Car. II, c. 12.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1666–7, p. 148.

[3] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxvii. 138.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 503.

[5] *S. P. Dom. Car. II*, ccxxxv. 135. See also *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1668–9, pp. 171, 303; *ib.* 1671, pp. 523, 524.

The Act of 1664 having expired, it was revived in 1671 by a statute[4] which at the same time greatly enlarged the powers of the navy board with regard to embezzlement. They were empowered (1) to fine persons embezzling goods under the value of 20*s.* to an amount not exceeding twice the value of the goods, (2) to issue search-warrants to enter any ship in the daytime and search for stolen goods, (3) to commit for trial at a higher court those who personate seamen or workmen in order to obtain their pay, and (4) to commit for trial at a higher court persons counterfeiting the hands of the principal officers and commissioners, or 'of the signing or vouching officers' of the navy, 'to any bill, ticket, or other papers by virtue whereof his Majesty's naval treasure is or may be paid or disposed of, or shall knowingly produce any such counterfeit ticket, bill, or other paper.' This Act was to last for seven years.

When the new admiralty commission of 1673 came into office, their early zeal led them within the first month of their existence to carry through two reforms affecting the discipline of the navy in minor matters of organisation. Before the end of July they reported to the council concerning 'a complaint of the merchants against the present practice of the captains of his Majesty's ships in exacting more than hath been formerly demanded for bringing home money, plate, and bullion.' The 'anciently accustomed and allowed rate' was one per cent., and this had been exceeded under various names, such as 'freight,' 'primage,' or 'average.' Accordingly an Order in Council was passed, on 30 July, 1673, forbidding the commanders of the king's ships to take more than one per cent. 'for moneys carried from place to place belonging to the king's subjects.'[1]

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[1] *Diary*, v. 136.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1666–7, p. 218.

[3] v. 107 (7 Oct. 1665); vi. 27 (19 Oct. 1666); vi. 175 (13 Feb. 1666–7); vi. 391 (25 June, 1667). See also pp. 118–20, *supra.*

[4] 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 23.

On the same day the lords of the admiralty made an order directing the navy board 'to prepare an establishment of cabins fit to be allowed to a ship of each rate in the royal navy,' in view of the 'very great charge and many other inconveniencies rising by the unlimited number of cabins' built on the king's ships. This led in particular to 'the pestering of the ship,' 'contracting of sickness,' temptation to officers 'to neglect their duties and misspend their time in drinking and debauchery,' and 'the danger of fire,' 'besides its being a charge not in any degree allowed either in the French or Dutch ships.'[2] The 'establishment' thus required was presented by the navy board on 15 August, and being approved by the king was formally adopted by the commission in an order of 16 October,[3] requiring that the assignment of cabins therein made be strictly observed, 'so as that each officer to whom any of the said cabins are therein so designed, may enjoy the same as of right belonging to his place, without being subject to be dispossessed thereof by his commander or other superior officer,' unless by a special warrant from a flag officer or the navy board.

The establishment of cabins thus adopted[4] is worth printing because it throws some light on the ordinary arrangements and accommodation of warships of each rate during the period under consideration :—

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 478.

[2] *Ib.* p. 525.

[3] *Ib.* p. 529.

[4] *Ib.* pp. 526–8.

For Ships of the First and Second Rate

Upon the poop for trumpeters	4
Round house—the eldest captain	1
Afore the round house, on the starboard side—the second captain	1
Afore the second captain on the starboard side—the eldest lieutenant	1
Afore the round house on the larboard side, for the secretary, if an admiral	1
Afore the secretary on the larboard side, for the master	1
In the two bulkhead cabins upon the quarter-deck—the chief mate and judge advocate	2
Bulkhead of the coach on the starboard side, for the second lieutenant	1
On the larboard side—the commander of the land officers	1
Upper great cabin for the commander	1
In the lobby on the starboard side—the minister	1
On the larboard side (if no staircase)—a land officer	1
On the bulkhead of the forecastle on the starboard side, for the carpenter	1
On the bulkhead of the forecastle on the larboard side, for the boatswain	1
Within the forecastle on that side, for his mate	1
The lower great cabin for the reformadoes.[1]	
On the second deck, canvas cabins for mates, pilots, pursers, midshipmen, and other officers, as the captain pleases to dispose of them	18
Pantries of wood for the commander's use	2
In the gunroom bulkhead—gunner and chirurgeon	2
In the gunroom, standing cabins for mates	2
Hanging cabins	6
Cockpit for the purser, steward, and chirurgeon's mates	5
Steward room	1

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[1] An officer with rank but no command; hence applied in the navy to gentlemen's sons who served under letters from the king without being on the regular establishment. *Cf.* Bunyan, *Holy War* (2nd ed. 1684), p. 81: when the Prince and his captains marched to Mansoul 'there were also some from the court that rode reformades, for the love they had to the King Shaddaï and for the happy deliverance of the town of Mansoul.'

FOR THIRD-RATE SHIPS

Upon the poop for trumpeters	4
Round house divided—the starboard side, the master	1
On the larboard side, the lieutenant	1
Afore the round house, on the starboard side, for a chief mate, if no second lieutenant	1
On the larboard side, for the minister	1
In the coach—half-cabins for servants	2
Bulkhead of the coach on the starboard side—a second mate	1
Larboard side—a land officer	1
Bulkhead of the quarter-deck, on the starboard side —the carpenter	1
On the larboard side—the boatswain	1
In the steerage, cabins for a second mate and pilot	2
Pantries for the captain	2
Forecastle bulkhead, on the starboard side—the cook	1
Larboard side—the boatswain's mate	1
Under the gangway—the coxswain and midshipmen	2
In the forecastle—a midshipman and carpenter's mate	2
In the gunroom bulkhead—gunner and chirurgeon	2
In the gunroom, standing cabins	2

Between Decks, before the Gunroom Bulkhead

Cockpit—the purser	1
The steward's room and cabin	1
The chirurgeon's mate	1
The captain's storeroom	1

FOR FOURTH-RATES

On the poop—trumpeters' cabins	2
The round house (if divided)—the master and lieutenant	2
In the cuddy—two mates	2
Bulkhead of the steerage on the starboard side—the carpenter	1
On the larboard side—the boatswain	1
In the steerage, for a land officer and midshipman	2
Pantry for the captain	1
Forecastle bulkhead on the starboard side—the cook	1
Larboard side—the boatswain's mate	1
In the gunroom bulkhead—gunner and chirurgeon	2

Between Decks

Cockpit—the purser, steward, and chirurgeon's mate	3
Captain's store room	1
In the forecastle—carpenter's mate and midshipman	2

For a Fifth-rate

Round house—the master	1
Bulkhead of the steerage, on the starboard side—the carpenter	1
Larboard side—a lieutenant	1
In the steerage—two mates and midshipmen	2
Bulkhead of the gunroom—gunner and chirurgeon	2
Cockpit—purser	1
Steward room	1
Chirurgeon's mate	1
Bulkhead of the forecastle—the boatswain and cook	2

For Sixth-rates

The steerage bulkhead—the master	1
Cockpit built in hold—the boatswain, carpenter, gunner, and other officers	6

No standing cabins on the middle deck of the 1st and 2nd rate ships to be more than six foot long fore and aft, and five foot wide upon the deck.

No cabin in the steerage and forecastle of a 3rd and 4th rate ship to be more than five foot nine inches long and four inches [*sic*] wide upon the upper deck.

In the steerage of a 5th-rate ship no cabin to be more than five foot six inches long, and four foot wide upon the upper deck.

The period 1673–9 witnessed certain other attempts to effect an improvement in naval discipline. An abuse of very long standing had been the taking of merchants' goods in the king's ships. This had been noticed by Slyngesbie in 1660 as an abuse 'lately much practised,' which made it easy for the officers to sell the king's stores under the pretence that they were merchandise ; to waste time in the ports which ought to be spent at sea ; so to fill the ship's hold 'that they have no room to throw by their chests and other cumbersome things upon occasion of fight, whereby the gun decks are so encumbered that they cannot possibly make so good an opposition to an enemy as otherwise they might ;' and lastly, to defraud the custom-house.[1] The first complaint of the practice in the official correspondence in the Pepysian Library is under date 14 August, 1674,[2] when Pepys observes that the matter has come under the notice of the admiralty commission 'by common report,' and notes that the abuse had grown to such dimensions that the captains not only took in and transported merchants' goods, but published beforehand 'their purpose of so doing upon terms of freight and other conditions.' In a later letter[3] he complains of the difficulty of obtaining information such as would enable the admiralty to convict offenders, and remarks that the merchants themselves tempted the captains to violate their instructions, 'with pretence of want of shipping and perishableness of their commodities, to take in their goods at under freights.' The king was disposed to take severe notice of offenders,[4] and on 3 November, 1674, we hear that the captain of the Deptford ketch was removed from his post for an aggravated form of this offence, the king being greatly 'moved' thereby.[5] Soon after instructions were sent to the consul at Genoa, and later to the other principal Mediterranean ports, to report any irregularities that might come under their notice.[6]

In August 1675 a particularly flagrant case of breach of discipline came to light.[1] Sir William Poole, a captain of good reputation, who was in command of the St. David, continued his ship six months in a foreign port, 'contrary to the express letter of his Majesty's orders, without one hour spent by the ship in the service of the king, from the time of her arrival there to her coming thence, while she might have been of so much use either at home or abroad elsewhere.' During the whole of this time he was attending occasions of his own, and he crowned his offence by bringing home merchants' goods. These misdemeanours, when 'put together,' 'arose' in the judgment of the king and the lords of the admiralty 'to the most exorbitant instance of contempt of orders and breach of discipline' that had 'yet appeared in the navy.' They therefore 'concluded that the passing by of a misbehaviour like this could be construed no other than the delivering up his Majesty's honour, service, and treasure (by the example of it) to irrevocable ruin,' and decided in spite of Poole's previous character to make his punishment 'in some degree exemplary.' He was offered the choice of remaining in custody 'until an opportunity shall fall of making your defence before, and abiding by the censure of a court-martial, which (through the want of a sufficient number of commanders) cannot be presently called,' or of forfeiting to the king the whole of his pay for the voyage, and 'making good to the poor of the Chest' out of his own purse the value of the freight of the merchants' goods brought home by him. The delinquent wisely chose the latter alternative, and the money being graciously accepted by the king, an order was made for his release. The measures taken to check this particular abuse do not appear to have been entirely successful,[2] for on 18 July,

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[1] Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vol. vii.), p. 353. Macaulay describes the abuse, but is silent concerning the attempts made to remedy it (*History of England*, Longman's edition, 1880, i. 148).

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iii. 276.

[3] *Ib.* iii. 360 (21 Oct. 1674).

[4] *Ib.* iii. 367.

[5] *Ib.* iii. 376, 378.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 409 (4 Dec. 1674) ; iv. 11 (1 Feb. 1674-5), 182, 184 (12 July, 1675), 254.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iv. 233, 243, 246.

[2] This abuse of carrying merchandise continued to give trouble until as late as 1750, and in April 1805 Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth was tried by court-martial for bringing home merchandise in the Acasta frigate. The circumstances of his acquittal are given in *D. N. B.* xvi. 94.

1678, we find Pepys writing to Sir John Narbrough in the Mediterranean: 'I hear so much of our commanders making occasions of going into port, and spending their time between one port and another, that I cannot but press you to the having great regard to the discovering and curing that evil, as being a matter his Majesty's honour and service is much concerned in, and yet more in the liberty which some are said to take of coming home to England with convoys, without, if not contrary to, order.'[1]

The absence of captains from their ships without leave appears to have given a good deal of trouble during this period, and especially towards the end of it. On 1 October, 1673, the lords of the admiralty, then new to their work, and full of reforming activity, called the special attention of the navy board to the liberty daily taken by commanders, 'upon the coming in of the fleet, to leave their ships and stay at their own pleasures on shore,' in contravention of the 7th article of the lord high admiral's instructions, which forbade the captain during the time of his commission 'to lie any one night from on board' his ship, without the permission of his superior officers. The board was instructed, by 'effectual orders to the clerks of the check, and by all other ways,' to see that the captains are 'pricked out of pay' for absences from on board, and 'for the time to come' to establish it as 'a standing rule in the navy' that the commanders of ships 'from the day of their first coming to reside on board be subject to the musters of the clerks of the check and muster-masters, and their absences from on board noted upon the books in the same manner as the absences of the rest of the ship's company are, and their pay thereupon stopped' until they can justify themselves by showing that they have acted under orders.[1] In another letter of the same date, that passed between the same correspondents,[2] the lords speak of 'frequent' and 'pressing' instances of 'the ill consequences of that liberty which we find universally taken by commanders of neglecting their duties,' and they again urge upon the navy board the necessity of insisting upon a strict compliance with the lord high admiral's instructions. The effect of the new arrangements was not quite what was desired. On 22 October the lords 'understand' that their late orders 'for the obliging the commanders of the king's ships to give their due attendance on board by subjecting them to be mustered by the clerks of the check and muster-masters, is liable in the manner of its being executed to be converted to the diminution of the authority of the commanders, in case they be exposed to a public call in common with the rest of the ship's company.' They therefore explain their original intention to be that the clerks of the check should only inform themselves of the captain's absence and note it upon the books, without requiring him 'to be called and pricked, and thereby by the practice of the navy rendered liable to be made "run" after the accustomary number of absences.'[3] On 25 May, 1675,[4] Pepys observes 'with much trouble' that the 'late resolutions' 'are already forgotten,' commanders 'appearing daily in the town' without leave, and inquires if the clerks of the check are observing the rules laid down for them. On 9 July[5] Pepys himself 'spied' the captain of the Lark 'at a distance sauntering up and down Covent Garden, as I have too often heretofore observed him spending his time when the king's service required his attendance on shipboard, as it doth at this day—a practice which shall never pass my knowledge in any commander (be he who he will) without my taking notice of it to his Majesty and my lords of the admiralty.' Three years later complaints of this kind became very frequent, and so to the end of Pepys's administration. On 24 March, 1677–8,[1] Pepys remarks, 'I must confess I have never observed so frequent and scandalous instances as I do at this day by commanders hovering daily about the Court and town, though without the least pretence for it,' and suggests that an example should be made of an offender in the hope of checking the evil. Three months later he recurs almost passionately to the same subject. 'I would to God,' he writes to Sir Thomas Allin on 29 June,[2] 'you could offer me something that may be an effectual cure to the liberty taken by commanders of leaving their ships upon pretence of private occasions, and staying long in town, to the great dishonour of his Majesty's service, and corrupting the discipline of the navy by their example; . . . it seeming impossible as well as unreasonable to keep the door constantly barred against commanders' desires of coming to town upon just and pressing occasions of their families, and of the other hand no less hard upon the king that his gracious nature as well as his service should be always liable to be imposed upon by commanders, as often as their humours, pleasures, or (it may be) vices shall incline them to come ashore. Pray think of it and help me herein, for, as I shall never be guilty of withstanding any gentleman's just occasions and desires in this matter, so shall I never be able to sit still and silent under the scandalous liberties that I see every day taken by commanders of playing with his Majesty's service, as if it were an indifferent matter whether they give any attendance on board their ships, so as they have their wages as if they did.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vii. 361. In connexion with this the names of Sir William Poole and Sir John Ernle are mentioned, though only 'upon bare hearsay.' The prohibition against transporting merchants' goods did not extend to money and plate (see p. 189, *supra*), but Pepys was disposed to regret this. On 23 Jan. 1676–7 he writes with regard to the 'inconveniencies which this trade of carrying plate draws upon' the service; 'it seeming to me that for every penny that a poor commander gains this way it were better husbandry for his Majesty out of his own purse to give him twopence' (v. 327).

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 182.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 184.
[3] *Ib.* ii. 250
[4] *Ib.* iv. 110.
[5] *Ib.* iv. 178.

The king seems after this to have taken 'more than ordinary notice'[3] of this kind of delinquency, and letters appear in which Pepys himself dissuades officers from applying for leave;[1] but in April 1679 the lords of the admiralty are still resolving 'most fervently to rectify this evil with all the strictness that may be.'[2] On this occasion they decided, on the advice of Pepys, that in future leave should only be granted under the hand of the king, or of the lords themselves, 'I having shown them,' he writes, 'that whatever is less than that is too little.' Unfortunately for this late decision, a disastrous change in the administration of the navy was then close at hand.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 480.

[2] *Ib.* vii. 296.

[3] *Ib.* ix. 97.

The official correspondence, although it reveals a condition of great laxness in matters of discipline, exhibits Pepys himself in a favourable light. The secretary of the admiralty was at once vigilant and effective in enforcing naval discipline. He had a high sense of the honour of the service, and showed himself both firm and humane in his dealings with his official inferiors. He was at some pains to keep himself well informed of the proceedings of the captains, urging the navy board, where it appeared to them that captains were 'not so steady in their attendance on and solicitous for the despatch of their ships fitting forth as their duty obligeth them,' to 'be at the trouble of advertising' him thereof.[3] Where breaches of discipline were reported to him he took the greatest pains to arrive at the facts, often at considerable trouble when the delinquencies occurred in foreign ports,[4] and his admonitions to the offenders, though sometimes rather unctuous, are in the best Pepysian style.

But, in spite of the personal vigilance and efficiency of the secretary to the admiralty, there can be no doubt that the discipline of the navy during this period was extraordinarily bad, as was admitted by Pepys himself. On 3 February, 1673-4, not very long after he had taken office, he wrote to Captain Rooth, 'It is with great affliction that I read what you observe concerning the universal loss of discipline amongst the seamen of England, to the degree of their making no difference between his Majesty's service, where the want of payment of their wages may in some measure give excuse for it, and that of the merchants, where they not only have their pay certain but their wages excessive, a vice which I pray God grant I may see rectified before it prove too fatal, not only to his Majesty's service, but to the whole navigation of the country.'[1] Five years after, on 15 April, 1679, when his tenure of office was about to come to an end, he made use of expressions which differed from these only in being rather stronger. 'I will discharge my part,' he writes, 'towards his Majesty and my lords of the admiralty in the preservation of the good discipline of the navy, as long as I shall have the honour of serving them in it, by making due representations of any violences I see offered to it, whereof (God knows) few days together escape without some fresh instances, and as few of them without giving me fresh censure and disquiet from my non-compliance with them, even to the rendering my employment as truly burdensome to me as others (who know not this) make it the subject of their envy.'[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 137, 177, 187.
[2] *Ib.* ix. 220.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 191.
[4] *Ib.* v. 281, 329. See also vi. 51.

That this was partly due, as far as the ordinary seamen were concerned, to bad payment, is suggested by Pepys himself and is consistent with what we know of the period that preceded this. But the cases already quoted will serve to show that the breakdown of discipline in the Restoration period affected not only the seamen, but also the higher ranks of the service, and it was impossible to keep the officers up to a reasonable standard of conscientiousness in the discharge of their duties. In fact, so deeply did the disease strike down into the system of the navy, that in 1679 no less a person than Sir Robert Robinson refused to answer concerning the misdemeanours of one of his captains, when applied to by Pepys with a view to a reprimand from headquarters; whereupon that official remarked with some force, in a letter of 18 January, 1678-9, that it was 'very little to be hoped that sobriety and good discipline should ever be supported in a fleet where those in chiefest trust are either unwilling or afraid of detecting even their inferiors in their misdoings;' 'besides,' he added, 'it goes a great way with me towards the lessening the credit of persons in their certifying for the virtues and to the benefit of those they would advance, when I find them in other cases desirous to conceal the vices of those that are already in employments.'[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iii. 78.

[2] *Ib.* ix. 203.

The decay of discipline in the Restoration period has been associated by several writers with the practice of appointing 'gentlemen captains' without experience to important commands at sea. The matter is discussed by Macaulay with exaggerated picturesqueness;[2] Pepys makes allusion to it in the *Diary*;[3] and a Restoration paper printed in Charnock's *Marine Architecture*[4] very much shocks that author by its 'illiberal and improper observations' on the subject. He admits, however, that 'there certainly appears much truth and solidity in the general principle of them,' though 'it might have been wished for the sake of decency and propriety' that the writer 'had conveyed his animadversions in somewhat less vulgar terms.' He traces every kind of evil to the year 1660, when 'gentlemen came to command in the navy.' These 'have had the honour to bring drinking, gaming, whoring, swearing, and all impiety into the navy, and banish all order and sobriety out of their ships;' they have cast their ships away for want of seamanship; they have habitually delayed in port when they should have been at sea; a gentleman captain will bring 'near 20 landmen into the ship as his footmen, tailor, barber, fiddlers, decayed kindred, volunteer gentlemen or acquaintance, as companions,' and these 'are of Bishop Williams's opinion, that Providence made man to live ashore, and it is necessity that drives him to sea;' the gentleman captain 'destroys his breed of seamen by casualties of his own making;' and so the author works up in a leisurely fashion to his conclusion—that 'the crown will at all times be better able to secure trade, prevent the growth of the naval strength of our enemy, with 100,000*l.* under a natural sea admiralty and seaman captains, . . . than with three times that sum under land admirals and gentlemen captains not bred tarpaulins.' It is interesting to find that the same point is made by Pepys at the close of his first period of office as secretary to the admiralty. In a letter to Sir John Holmes, of 15 April, 1679,[1] he notes that certain officers whom he had had occasion to reprimand were uttering 'no small menaces' against him as 'an enemy to gentlemen captains,' and takes trouble to repudiate the accusation; but he quotes the view expressed by Colonel Birch in the House of Commons, that one of the 'present miscarriages' of the navy is that 'employment and favour are now bestowed wholly upon gentlemen, to the great discouragement of tarpaulins of Wapping and Blackwall, from whence . . . the good commanders of old were all used to be chosen.' In another letter to the same correspondent, dated 18 April,[2] he writes of 'that distinction so much laboured to be kept up by some between gentlemen and tarpaulin commanders, and the liberty taken by the first of thinking themselves above the necessity of obeying orders, and conforming themselves to the rules and discipline of the navy, in reliance upon the protection secured to them therein through the quality of their friends at court.' Pepys himself was probably an impartial witness, for he was denounced by each side for favouring the other.[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, viii. 459; ix. 44.

[2] *History of England*, i. 147-9.

[3] *Diary*, iii. 155 (2 June, 1663: Mr. Coventry . . . 'confesses that the more of the cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet'); v. 194 (10 Jan. 1665-6); v. 377 (27 July, 1666: Pepys quotes Coventry as referring to the 'unruliness' of the 'young gentlemen captains'); vi. 29-31 (20 Oct. 1666); vi. 40-1 (28 Oct. 1666); vi. 47 (1 Nov. 1666); vi. 400 (29 June, 1667).

[4] Vol. i. pp. lxxiv-xcv.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 206.

[2] *Ib.* ix. 214.

It is in a way remarkable that it is during the period of these complaints against gentlemen captains that we come upon the first establishment of an examination for lieutenants. Towards the end of 1677 complaints reached the admiralty from Sir John Narbrough, commanding in the Mediterranean, of the 'defectiveness' of his lieutenants 'in their seamanship.'[2] Pepys also, in a letter to Sir John Kempthorne dated 1 December, 1677,[3] refers to 'the general ignorance and dulness of our lieutenants of ships' as a 'great evil,' of which 'all sober commanders at this day' complain. They are 'for the most part (at least those of later standing) made out of volunteers, who having passed some time superficially at sea, and being related to families of interest at court, do obtain lieutenancies before they are fitted for it; to which is to be added that the duty and trust of a lieutenant, not being ascertained by standing instructions as those of a commander are, nor no establishment made of the qualifications by which a person is to be judged whether he be fit to be entrusted with the office of lieutenant or not, no man considers of the importance of a lieutenant's duty in case of the death or disability of his captain; and consequently it is come to that pass that no man that can but pretend to have been two or three voyages at sea (nay, some but one) will allow to have it disputed whether he be capable of discharging the office of a lieutenant or not, but expects of course to be allowed to be so. And if this course holds for the raising of lieutenants, I submit it to you to bethink yourself what sort of captains the honour and safety of the crown and government will have to rely upon for support at sea, when the few commanders (for God knows they are but few) that are now surviving of the true breed shall be worn out; which being our case, and that as it is not only likely that younger sons of gentlemen will still be put forward in sea employments, but very desirable also with respect to his Majesty's service that they should be so, provided they would but set themselves earlily to it, and pass through the same necessary methods of knowledge and practice which the true-bred seaman doth, I am to let you know that his Majesty and Royal Highness, with my lords of the admiralty, are at this day very full of this matter, and in order to their information and satisfaction it is that I do in one word entreat you to cast this matter to and again in your thoughts, and with as much speed as you can.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 242-3.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 231.

[3] *Ib.* vi. 264.

On 8 December the king and the lords of the admiralty held a 'full debate of the matter,' 'attended by the officers of the navy and several commanders, both gentlemen and others,' 'which distinction,' writes Pepys,[1] 'I am both ashamed and afflicted to mention, and should be more, but that among other good ends of what I am now doing, the removing of that distinction will be one.' The result of this was the formal adoption, on 18 December, 1677, of a regular establishment 'for ascertaining the duty of a sea-lieutenant, and for examining persons pretending to that office,' which had been drawn up in the first instance by Pepys himself, and was adopted by the authorities, apparently without substantial alteration.[1] This, as copied into the *Naval Precedents*,[2] points out the special importance of a proper qualification for a lieutenant, inasmuch as the supreme command of the ship might devolve upon him through the sickness or death of the captain, and then proceeds to lay down formal instructions, of the same kind as those already in existence to describe the whole duty of the captain of a ship. Lieutenants are to obey the commander's orders; are not to go on shore without leave; are to take charge of the ship in the captain's absence; are to keep a journal, and send a copy of it to the secretary of the admiralty at the end of the voyage; are to inform the captain of all 'misdemeanours and neglects' of any of the under officers; and are not to expect any pay until the navy board has certified its satisfaction to the treasurer of the navy. The establishment also set up a system of qualifications for candidates. A lieutenant was required to have served three years actually at sea, 'after abatement made for all intervals of voyages,' and of this one year at least must have been as an ordinary midshipman; he must not be under twenty years of age at the time of admission to the lieutenancy; he must produce 'good certificates' from the commanders under whom he had served of his 'sobriety, diligence, obedience to order,' and 'application to the study and practice of the art of navigation;' and he was also required to produce certificates from three persons—a member of the navy board who had served as a commander, a flag officer, and a commander of a first or second rate—'upon a solemn examination,' held at the office of the navy, of 'his ability to judge of and perform the duty of an able seaman and midshipman, and his having attained to a sufficient degree of knowledge in the theory of navigation capacitating him thereto.' If the necessity should arise for constituting a lieutenant at sea, the appointment was to be made by the admiral, but the person selected was first to be examined by three of the principal commanders, and their certificates, together with other evidence of fitness, were to be transmitted to the secretary of the admiralty for the king's inspection. There are a good many illustrations of the practical working of this system in the official correspondence. The candidate's application was made in the first instance to the navy board, which summoned the examiners' meeting.[1] Candidates were sometimes ploughed;[2] thus, as Pepys notes in a letter of 29 March, 1678,[1] it was an encouragement to the 'true-bred seaman,' and greatly to the benefit of the king's service; 'for I thank God,' he says, 'we have not half the throng of those of the bastard breed pressing for employments which we heretofore used to be troubled with, they being conscious of their inability to pass this examination, and know it to be to no purpose now to solicit for employments till they have done it.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 256.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, p. 241.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 302–3. The form of summons is copied into the book.

[2] *Ib.* vii. 4.

To about the same date as the examination of lieutenants belongs another minor reform—an establishment for the better provision of chaplains to serve in the navy. The first step in this direction appears to have been taken in April or May 1677, when the king and the lords of the admiralty resolved 'that no persons shall be entertained as chaplains on board his Majesty's ships but such as shall be approved of by the Lord Bishop of London.'[2] The proposal originated in the first instance with Pepys, who designed it to remedy 'the ill-effects of the looseness wherein that matter lay, with respect both to the honour of God Almighty and the preservation of sobriety and good discipline in his Majesty's fleet.'[3] By the practice of the navy the chaplain was borne as one of the ship's complement and not as a supernumerary, and captains were encouraged to nominate their own chaplains for the Bishop of London's approval; failing such nomination the choice was made by him.[1] In the first instance, the Archbishop of Canterbury was named as an alternative to the Bishop of London, but he did not act.[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vii. 17.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 3.

[3] *Ib.* vi. 18, 45. See also vi. 19, and Pepysian MSS. No. 2866: *Naval Minutes*, p. 81. Pepys also takes credit for another establishment—in 1677 already of long standing and strictly observed—by which the 'moneys arising out of the seamen's contributions for a chaplain, upon ships where (by the remissness or impiety of the commander) no chaplain is provided,' were 'assigned to the use of the poor of the Chest at Chatham, without a possibility of any part thereof being taken to the benefit either of the commander (who hath least right to it, as paying nothing towards it), or any person else.' On the method of the 'seamen's contribution,' see Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vii.), p. 152, note 1, and pp. 347-8. This 4*d.* a month was over and above an ordinary seaman's pay (Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 161).

On 15 December, 1677, the details of this reform in the matter of chaplains were worked out much more fully by resolutions adopted on the admiralty commission.[3] In future chaplains were only to be admitted on board in that capacity and to enjoy pay, in virtue of a special royal warrant on their behalf. This warrant was to be issued only to such persons as first delivered to the secretary of the admiralty, 'for his Majesty's satisfaction,' a written certificate, under the hand of either the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London for the time being, testifying to the 'piety, learning, conformity, and other the qualifications of the said person fitting him for the said charge.' In order to secure the appointment of a chaplain on board every ship going to sea, the secretary of the admiralty was 'timelily' to 'signify' to either of the two prelates the names and rates of the ships appointed for the sea, the numbers of men to be borne on them, and the names of their respective commanders, 'in order to their lordships proposing to his Majesty fitting persons for the taking charge of the said ship as chaplains;' 'provided always that where the commander of any of the said ships shall make it his humble suit to his Majesty that a particular person who hath been at any time within the space of three years before approved of and certified for by either of the lords the bishops beforenamed may be appointed to the place of chaplain on board his said ship . . . in that case the said commander shall be gratified in the choice of his chaplain,' and the royal warrant shall be issued without any fresh approval or certificate being required. The establishment was confirmed by James II on 13 March, 1686–7, with the substitution of the Bishop of Durham for the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 36, 209; vii. 143–4.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 139.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 161.

The general control of the Bishop of London over naval chaplains was recognised in a quaint and pleasant fashion towards the close of 1678. Sir Robert Robinson's chaplain preached a sermon with which Sir Robert Robinson was greatly pleased, and accordingly he sent it up to Pepys for presentation to the Bishop of London. Pepys, foreseeing, perhaps, the tide of sermons that would begin to flow towards Fulham if this one were accepted, did his best for the bishop, and that as courteously as might be. 'As for your chaplain's sermon,' he writes on 17 December, 1678 in a letter which does not miss the more subtle humours of the situation, 'were it fit for me to give him advice, it should be that he would not have it exposed to my lord bishop's perusal and censure till it were fairer writ, and writ more correctly, this being done so slightly as to its manner of writing, and with so many blots, interlineations, false spellings, and wrong pointings, that I doubt, besides the prejudice the author may receive to his credit, the bishop may think himself a little neglected in his having it presented to him in no better dress, and with so many errata's. Upon which consideration I shall, in friendship to him and out of respect to you, respite the offering of it to my lord bishop until upon conferring with your chaplain I hear again from you about it, I being mightily of opinion that he should either have it sent him back from me to Portsmouth, there to have it well corrected by himself and got more fairly and legibly wrote, or committed to some friend of his own order and acquaintance in town who may have leisure to see it done for him. Nor do I think the gentleman will receive any considerable delay by this means to the satisfaction you and he expect from its being published, in regard that it is so busy a time here in parliament, and matters of so much importance there under debate, that were the sermon now in my lord bishop's hand, I cannot expect his lordship's being at leisure to overlook it till some of those matters be passed, and our sitting in parliament adjourned, which I suppose it may for some little time be at Christmas, which is now at hand. In which last consideration I do upon second thoughts think it best (for saving of time) to send it you back again without expecting your answer hereto, forasmuch as you may return it up to town again by the very next post, in case the author shall think fit to commit it to some friend here.'[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 163.

On 20 October, 1685, new instructions were issued 'for the execution of the duty required from the guard-ships and boats in Chatham and Portsmouth harbours.'[2] These were addressed to Captain John Ashby, commander of the Henrietta, one of the guard-ships at Chatham, but they are no doubt entered in the *Naval Precedents* to serve as a model for general use. The captain of the guard-ship is required to lodge on board, and to give constant attendance there; to keep up his complement of men, and to see that they are not absent without leave; 'to cause good watch to be kept on board every night' by a quarter of the ship's company, 'due care' being taken 'for the putting out all fire and candle, and that no person whatsoever be permitted to lodge below the gun deck;' to cause the corporal to exercise the whole ship's company with small arms once a week at least; and to lend men to the assistance of the master attendant whenever required to do so by the resident commissioner. The instructions also contain a reference to a change in the method by which the guard-ships were to be 'hereafter fitted and kept' for service. From this it appears that a general order had been issued for all the guard-ships to have 'their standing rigging set up and constantly kept in good repair, their running rigging with six months' boatswain's and carpenter's sea-stores for each ship kept on shore in some convenient place, distinct each ship from another, and as near at hand as may be.' Each ship was to be graved once in twelve months, 'and their hulls, masts, &c., well looked after and kept in good repair.' They were to have 'twenty of their ordnance, their small arms, and fitting proportions of gunner's stores of all sorts put and kept on board,' the remainder provided by the peace establishment being stored, like the running rigging, on shore in a convenient place, so that the ship might be fitted for sea in the shortest possible time.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, viii. 432.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 225 and index.

To these instructions are annexed others for the management of guard-boats, which set forth in the fullest detail the elaborate precautions to be taken for the safety of the ships lying up in harbour. The number of guard-boats at Chatham was twenty, and at Portsmouth twelve. In accordance with a suggestion made by Pepys[1] the boats were to be manned from the guard-ships, and not, as formerly, from the ordinary. They[2] were to be allowed a coxswain and ten rowers, besides the gunner in command. The commanders of the guard-ships were to have the general inspection and care of all the boats for a month each in turn. Every night throughout the year a guard-boat was to be on duty as a 'scout-boat,' care being taken that the crews should not know beforehand which boat was to be selected to go 'upon the scout' for any particular night. Each boat was to be armed with 'six half-pikes and six firelocks, with powder and bullet suitable to them, and to be furnished with a small chest wherein to keep the fire-arms dry and safe from any damage by the weather.' A system of signals was arranged, by which, on the discovery by the scout-boat of any danger from an enemy or accident by fire, notice could be given to the guard-boats to arm. The scout-boat was to pass by every king's ship in harbour, and in the event of any ship failing to hail it the commander was to go on board to know the reason why. He was also to see that no fire or candle was burning in a ship after 8 o'clock in the evening, to report 'any disorder on board any ship by drinking or otherwise,' to require boats and vessels passing up and down in the night to give an account of themselves, and to 'look into creeks and other places where any boats may probably be harboured, as well for the preventing any thievery or embezzlement as any surprise by an enemy.' The commander of the scout-boat was to report all his proceedings to the captain of the guard-ship in charge of the guard-boats for that month, who was in turn to report exceptional occurrences to the resident commissioner. The captain was required to keep a journal of all the proceedings of the boats, and to send it up quarterly to the comptroller for the use of the navy office. All the men were to be simultaneously exercised in rowing 'once every month at least.'

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[1] See p. 116, *supra*.

[2] At Chatham the following instructions apply to seventeen boats only. Three were kept in reserve in case of any alarm, and did not take part in the ordinary routine duties.

A new departure of a more important kind was James II's 'establishment about plate carriage and allowance for captains' tables,' dated 15 July, 1686,[1] an attempt to revive discipline in the navy by giving the admiralty a ready control over ships on foreign service, and at the same time so to improve the position of the captains as to put them beyond the reach of temptations to neglect their public duty for private gain. The preamble refers to the 'general disorder' into which the discipline of the navy has 'of late years' fallen, and especially to the particular evil arising from 'the liberty taken by commanders of our ships (upon all opportunities of private profit) of converting the service of our said ships to their own use, to the total neglect of the public ends for which they, at our great charge, are set forth and maintained, namely, the annoying of our enemies, the protecting the estates of our trading subjects, and the support of our honour with foreign princes.' It is therefore provided (1) That no commander shall upon any pretext whatever carry 'any money, bullion, jewels, or other merchandise' without royal warrant, 'upon pain of being (on conviction) immediately discharged from their present, and rendered incapable of any future employment in our service, as also of refunding to the use of our maimed seamen of the Chest at Chatham the full value of the profits they shall be found to have made by any violation of this our order, and of suffering such further punishment as by the laws of the sea they shall become liable to for the same.' (2) That no commander shall carry passengers without the king's warrant, excepting only 'our subjects redeemed from slavery, shipwrecked, or taken at sea out of foreign ships.' (3) All orders from admirals or commanders-in-chief for the proceeding of ships on any service to be in writing, a copy being sent to the secretary of the admiralty both by the commander giving the order and the inferior officer receiving it. (4) Commanders touching in foreign ports to send from each 'a particular account of their proceedings,' with 'abstracts of their journals,' to the secretary of the admiralty, and also to leave the like with the 'consul or other public minister' for transmission to the secretary, 'so as we may at all times have a constant and thorough knowledge of the condition, services, and proceedings of all and every of our ships employed on foreign service, with the occasions of the same.' (5) Commanders at the end of each voyage to deliver to the secretary of the admiralty 'an entire book containing a perfect journal thereof, together with a book of entries to be kept of all orders either issued or received;' the said books to be examined by the secretary and reported on by him to the king, in order that he may know how to distribute rewards and punishments. 'And to the end that with the provision thus made towards the recovery and advancement of the honour, discipline, and prosperity of our naval service, we may at the same time testify our like royal inclination to the giving all reasonable encouragement to those who shall from henceforward be employed as commanders in any of our ships, thereby as well to excite and oblige them to a strict compliance with these and all other our royal resolutions and orders, as the better to enable them to support the charge and dignity of their said employments and entertainment therein, without resorting to methods of doing it so injurious of our service and wasteful of our treasure as those before mentioned have been,' the king grants to the commanders of all vessels except yachts, over and above the ordinary allowance for victualling, an extra allowance 'for the support of their tables,' on the following scale :—

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 245. Printed in Pepys's *Memoirs*, pp. 102–26.

A Table of the Annual Allowance of a Sea Commander of each Rate

Rate	Present Wages			Present Victualling			Additional Grant for his Table		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	*£*	*s.*	*d.*	*£*	*s.*	*d.*
1	273	15	0	12	13	4	250	0	0
2	219	0	0	12	13	4	200	0	0
3	182	0	0	12	13	4	166	5	0
4	136	10	0	12	13	4	124	5	0
5	109	10	0	12	13	4	100	0	0
6	91	0	0	12	13	4	83	0	0

Commanders employed in 'wars with any of the people of Barbary' were to have all prizes taken, which were to be divided among them and their officers and seamen 'according to the law and practice of the sea.' [1]

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[1] The following paper is copied into the *Naval Precedents* (Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, p. 186) :—

'The ancient Custome in Queen Elizabeth's Time concerning the severall Shares & other Dutys that doth any way appertaine to y^{e} Off^{rs} of all Men of Warr as followeth, viz. :—
The Captaine, the best Peice of ordnance.
The Ma^{r}, the best Anchor and Cable.
The Guñer, the second peice of ordnance.
The Boatsw^{n}, the maintopsayle.
The Boatsw^{ns} mate, the foretopsayle.
Ma^{rs} mate, the Bonnet & spritsayle.
Quarterma^{r}, the Mison.
Coxwaine, the Topgallant Sayle.

By an order of 22 October, 1686,[1] the prohibition to carry passengers contained in the establishment was declared not to apply to 'ships attending upon any of our plantations, colonies, islands, or other governments abroad,' who might transport 'officers, soldiers, and other persons' from place to place under the orders of the governors of the plantations; but copies of such orders were to be sent by the commanders to the secretary of the admiralty, and the persons so transported were not to be victualled by the ship 'but upon great necessity.'

The reign of James II was in a peculiar degree a period of the framing and revising of 'establishments' in the navy, and we find in *Naval Precedents*, under date,

Chyrurgeon, the Chyrurgeon's Chest and all Chyrurgerys.
Carpenter, the Carpenter's Tooles.
Trumpeter, Trumpetts if any.

'The Marriners' Furniture, Apparrell, Chests and such like is Pillage, and the same shared amongst the whole Company.

Captaine—9 shares.
Maister—8 shares.
Ma^{rs} Mate—6 shares.
Midshipm^{n}—5 shares.
Guñer—4 shares.
Boatswaine—4 shares.
Quart^{r} ma^{rs}—4 shares.
Carpenter—4 shares.
Cooke—4 shares.
Chyrurgeon—4 shares.
Trumpeter—4 shares.
Boatsw^{ns} mate, Carpent^{rs} mate, Steward, Coxwaine, Cooper, & all y^{e} und^{r} Officers } 3 shares apeice.
These are allwayes y^{e} Share-makers
The ma^{rs} mates, midshipmen, Quart^{r}maisters,
Boatswaines & Guñers.

'After these officers aboue specifyed have layd out every Man's share, according to y^{e} place he served in, the Ma^{r} or Capt^{n} doth usually meddle with the shares, to putt to or take from any one share, according to some ꝑticular desert.

'The dead shares are allwayes at y^{e} Discretion of the Sharemakers, to lay out soe many Dead shares as to them should seeme meet, w^{ch} Dead-shares are to bee considered of by the Capt^{n} and y^{e} Ma^{r} for deserving Men in the Voyage.

'And if any Off^{r} or other Man bee slaine or dye in the Voyage, soe it bee either at or after the Prize or purchace bee taken, he or they are to haue their whole shares due to y^{e} place wherein hee or they stood or served.

'And such other as are then chosen in that place, after hee or they be dead, are to be satisfyed from the Dead Shares.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 252.

13 April, 1686,[1] another such establishment concerning 'volunteers and midshipmen extraordinary.' This appears to be a confirmation of an earlier establishment of 4 May, 1676, designed to afford encouragement 'to families of better quality . . . to breed up their younger sons to the art and practice of navigation' by 'the bearing several young gentlemen, to the ends aforesaid,' on board the king's ships as 'volunteers,' and to provide employment for ex-commanders or lieutenants by carrying them as 'midshipmen extraordinary' over and above the ordinary complement established for the ship in which they sailed. The rules laid down by Charles II, and now confirmed by his brother, were as follows: (1) A maximum number was fixed for ships of the four lower rates, thus :—

Rate	Volunteers	Midshipmen extraordinary
3rd	four	three
4th	three	two
5th	two	one
6th	one	one

(2) Volunteers were not to be admitted above the age of sixteen, unless they had formerly served in that capacity. (3) On any vacancy those who had formerly served were to have the preference. (4) Volunteers were to receive, over and above the ordinary allowance of victuals to each of the ship's company, an allowance in money sufficient to 'make up the value of the said ordinary allowance' to 24*l.* a year,[2] and (5) it was left to the option of the captain whether to take the ordinary allowance of victuals and the extraordinary allowance of money and victual the volunteers at his own table, or to leave them to diet themselves out

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 156.

[2] A similar arrangement had been sanctioned by Charles II on 24 Sept. 1671, 'in order to give all fitting encouragement to such gentlemen as shall serve at sea in . . . ships of war, to the end they may more readily and willingly apply themselves to the understanding of sea affairs;' but the limit had then been fixed at 20*l.* a year (*S. P. Dom. Car. II*, Entry Book, 31 f. 78).

of it. (6) No volunteer was to be allowed a servant at the king's charge either for victuals or wages. (7) Those only should be received as midshipmen extraordinary who, having formerly served as commanders or lieutenants, were not charged with 'any misdemeanour or failure of duty' in their previous employments. Any ex-commander or lieutenant not so charged was qualified to be admitted to any vacancies that might occur, 'with the allowance of a servant to be paid according to his quality.' (8) The appointment of volunteers or midshipmen extraordinary was not to interfere with the establishment of cabins,[1] but they were to be 'contented with what accommodation shall be afforded them' within the establishment after the officers of the ship had been provided for. (9) No person who had already served in either of these capacities was to be readmitted to serve, without a certificate signed by the captain, lieutenant, and master of the ship in which he served before, 'signifying his civil and sober behaviour and obedience to command in the case of midshipmen extraordinary, and the same in the case of a volunteer, with the addition of his having diligently applied himself to the study and practice of the art and duty of a seaman.' (10) No midshipman extraordinary was to receive any pay till he had delivered to the secretary of the admiralty 'a perfect journal, fairly written, kept and signed by himself, expressing in distinct columns the place where the said ship shall have been each day at noon, the daily change of the wind, and all extraordinary accidents happening in the voyage.' (11) Such volunteers, midshipmen extraordinary, and servants to midshipmen extraordinary to be borne on the ships' books for victuals and wages as supernumeraries. Copies of these instructions were sent to the captains, and they were required to have them 'forthwith publicly set up in some convenient place' in the steerage, 'to prevent any pretence of ignorance in any that shall be found acting contrary thereto.'

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[1] See p. 190, *supra*.

Another 'establishment' belonging to this period is that for boatswains' and carpenters' sea stores, drafted by the navy board in November 1686,[1] and presumably confirmed soon after by the king. It had come under the notice of the navy board that no uniform establishment of this kind had ever before been made, 'but that the same have been for the most part issued, and their expenses allowed, at the pleasure and discretion of inferior officers in the yards.' This want of certainty had led to 'unlimited and extravagant expenses' of these stores, and the board, regarding it as a matter of great moment, had devoted as much of their time as their other duties allowed to 'a deliberate consideration and adjustment of the qualities, quantities, and proportions of each distinct species of stores needful to be supplied to each ship of your Majesty's present navy, whether for an eight or twelve months' voyage.' The details are too numerous to print, but the paper in question serves as another illustration of the care with which business principles were being at this time applied to the organisation and administration of the navy.

The restoration of discipline in the navy, the great end to which the framing of these establishments was directed, was a work for which the two leading spirits of the higher administration had peculiar qualifications. James II was a disciplinarian by nature, and it is clear from the *Admiralty Letters* that he was very anxious to introduce a new order into naval affairs. Pepys wrote on 28 July, 1687,[2] that it was 'impossible for any prince to be more solicitous for the recovering and establishing of good discipline in all his services, both at land and sea, and to do more towards it than he whom we have the honour to serve has done;' and many instances might be given of the king's intimate personal knowledge of the proceedings of his commanders, and his readiness to visit their offences with marks of his displeasure, though some of them, naturally enough, illustrate also the extent of the prevailing laxness against which the king and Pepys were fighting. During the earlier part of Pepys's second secretaryship drunkenness appears to have given a great deal of trouble. On 5 August, 1684,[1] we find him writing to Captain Wren, of the Centurion, at Portsmouth, in answer to a complaint against his second lieutenant, 'His intemperance is no new thing to him, and, indeed, the generality of that vice, now running through the whole navy, is such as does call for and will certainly find both his Majesty and Royal Highness their being very severe in their corrections of it, as that without which the recovery of their naval discipline seems never to be hoped for.' On 2 October, 1684,[2] where an old offender's captain had suggested that removal to another ship would be sufficient punishment, Pepys threatened dismissal, affirming the general principle 'that he whose debauchery renders him unfit for any one charge in the navy, renders himself by the same means unfit for every other, and therefore, unfit for one unfit for all, there being no office so little in the navy but requires and deserves sobriety to manage it as it ought to be managed for the king.' 'Till that vice be cured,' he writes a few months later,[3] 'which I find too far spread in the navy, both by sea and land, I do despair of ever seeing his Majesty's service therein to thrive, and as I have given one or two instances of my care therein already, so shall I not fail by the grace of God to persevere in it as far as I am able, till it be thoroughly cured, let it light where it will.' In this the secretary to the admiralty was soon to be powerfully supported by the new king, 'there being no one vice which can give more just occasion of offence to his Majesty than that of drunkenness, for the restraining which, as well in the navy as in every other part of his service, I well know he has immoveably determined to have the severest means used, nor shall I in my station fail (according to his commands and my duty) to give my helping hand thereto.'[1] On 6 October, 1685,[2] a complaint was being investigated made by the captain of the Diamond against his officers 'of their being sottish and unfit to serve the king,' particularly the gunner, who was 'dead drunk in his cabin when the powder was to be taken out.' It was apparently about this time that the king, of whom Pepys wrote two years later that to him drunkenness is 'an offence (how lightly soever others may think on't)' that he would 'never pass over as a matter unworthy correction in his service,'[3] turned his attention to the errors of the ordinary seamen, and in his instructions to officers[4] directed 'certain mulcts to be set upon the heads of all seamen offending by drunkenness and some other crimes, as a standing punishment for such faults that may be executed during the voyage, and they not only thereby corrected, but the poor of the Chest at Chatham relieved also by their correction;' 'which way of punishment,' adds Pepys, 'though I know it to be sometimes excepted against as a thing that affects the wife and children of seamen by taking money out of their purses, and consequently bread out of their mouths, as well as their husbands' and fathers', yet the king in appointing of that pecuniary sort of punishment was of another mind, and thinking it more to the benefit of the seamen's families that they should by such smaller mulcts, and by little and little, be deterred from those delinquencies for which they are incurred, than for want of such present penalties encourage seamen by a long impunity to continue under the repetition of their disorders until they not only forfeit their whole pay, but subject themselves to the yet greater inconveniencies and corrections that would attend their being brought to courts-martial.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 639.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xiii. 222. *Cf.* also x. 315, xii. 182, 194 203

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 89.

[2] *Ib.* x. 137.

[3] *Ib.* x. 310 (4 Feb. 1684–5).

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 331 (17 Feb. 1684–5).

[2] *Ib.* xi. 372.

[3] *Ib.* xiii. 416 (6 Dec. 1687).

[4] *Ib.* xi. 381.

The author of the too candid confessions contained in the *Diary* ascribed a great part of the 'debauchery and impiety that is too generally found in the navy' to 'the neglect, or at least indifference, got both amongst commanders and men' in the 'point of chaplains,'[1] and in this matter the king himself was equally anxious; but that it was necessary for even a chaplain to be politically sound appears from a letter of 19 March, 1687–8.[2] A certain Mr. Loton, for twenty-one years chaplain of the ordinary at Chatham, was made the object of a railing accusation that he had 'made it his business to dissuade the taking off the test and penal laws.' He was saved from dismissal by the timely discovery that the accusation was false, but this recommendation to the king's mercy was fortified by the assurance that Mr. Loton had declared publicly 'that whenever his Majesty shall think fit to call a parliament he will, both in his private capacity as a freeholder of Kent and otherwise, promote the election of such persons to be members of the same as he shall understand his Majesty's desire of having chosen.'

It appears from the *Admiralty Letters* that during the year 1685 in particular other disorders besides drunkenness and debauchery called for the intervention of Pepys and the king. Complaints had been made before the accession of James of the unreasonableness of commanders in endeavouring to choose what voyage they should be sent on. 'I find nothing in the navy more grievous to me,' wrote Pepys, on 26 August, 1684,[3] 'than that the king's service is become matter of so little content to any commander employed in it, unless, together with his general employments, he has the liberty of making his own choice of his voyage,' 'while at the same time the king and duke are daily importuned by crowds of commanders complaining of their want of bread for want of work.' This evil was 'almost universal,' and showed a lamentable want of zeal to the service. A little later, on 10 February, 1684–5, Pepys complains of the 'remissness' shown by the officers 'in performing their duties on board, and the excessive liberties used in the officiating by deputies.'[1] After his accession the king took a strong line about officers who came to town without leave,[2] and he was quite as much disposed to visit with his displeasure captains who changed their stations or touched at ports without orders.[3]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xii. 314.

[2] *Ib* xiv. 79.

[3] *Ib.* x. 105.

In dealing with irregularities in the navy neither Pepys nor the king was a respecter of persons. A nephew of Sir Robert Holmes had been disorderly, and had engaged in a quarrel with another volunteer on board the Happy Return, 'and some blood spilt in it.'[4] The king, out of consideration for his uncle, did not bring him to a court-martial, but expressing through Pepys regret to Sir Robert Holmes that a nephew of his 'should so behave himself as to render him unfit (under the disorderly disposition that he happens now to be of) to be continued in his service,' ordered him to be dismissed his ship, advising that if he is intended for a seaman his friends should 'dispose of him in the merchants' service upon some long voyage, and with some master that will keep a strict and hard hand upon him, in hopes that time and such usage may reform him.'[5] Similarly in a case of embezzlement, where Pepys had reason to think that the commissioner at Chatham was not taking pains to bring home his guilt to Thomas Alcock, carpenter of the Elizabeth, because of his relationship to Pepys himself, he demands a full investigation in his most Roman style; 'and that he may not flatter himself with the hopes of any protection from me, I desire you will do me the favour to let him know that what you do herein is done at my express desire. . . . And, to tell you the truth, such was my opinion of his sobriety and honesty at this very day, and my regard of his having been bred in the navy, that I was not without thoughts of finding some fair occasion of promotion to him from the several vacancies that probably will arise from this miscarriage . . . but by God's grace if you find the least umbrage of a miscarriage of the same kind in him, he shall soon make a vacancy instead of filling one.'[1] Alcock was able to clear himself, and soon after Pepys writes that he is 'satisfied,' 'and shall resume the same fair thoughts and kind purposes towards him which I had before.'[2]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 320.

[2] *Ib.* x. 433.

[3] *Ib.* xi. 2, 11, 321.

[4] *Ib.* xii. 434.

[5] *Ib.* xii. 438–9. Young Holmes had evidently been spoilt, for Pepys wrote of his conduct that it was 'no worse than I expected from one so far gone and cherished in liberty as I found him to have been, through the fondness of my lady his poor mother during his being here, before his going last to sea.'

7. *Ships*

At the Restoration the total strength of the navy on paper,[3] including ships out of commission, hulks, and small vessels lying up in ordinary, but not including fifteen superannuated vessels that were left to be broken up where they lay, may be indicated by the following table:—

Rates	No.
1st	3
2nd	11
3rd	16
4th	45
5th	37
6th	23
Hoys	1
Hulks	7
Ketches	5
Pinks	6
Sloops	1
Yachts	1
Total	156

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x. 73–4.

[2] *Ib.* x. 81.

[3] As given in Pepysian MSS. No. 2940 (see p. 264, *infra*).

Neglecting the smaller vessels with the exception of the yachts, the results of the shipbuilding of the period may be expressed in the following form :—

Built or rebuilt	1st rates	2nd rates	3rd rates	4th rates	5th rates	6th rates	Yachts	Total
1660	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
1661	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
1662	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
1663	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	3
1664	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
1665	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	3
1666	—	1	4	3	2	2	2	14
1667	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	4
1668	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
1669	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
1670	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	5
1671	1	—	—	—	1	—	2	4
1672	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
1673	1	—	1	—	—	1	3	6
1674	—	—	2	1	1	—	2	6
1675	1	—	2	2	1	1	1	8
1676	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
1677	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
1678	—	2	6	—	—	—	—	8
1679	—	2	12	—	—	—	1	15
1680	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	4
1681	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
1682	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	4
1683	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	2
1684	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
1685	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
1686	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
1687	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	4
1688	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Total .	10	14	32	15	7	7	22	107

From this table it appears that the two great shipbuilding years were 1666 and 1679. The first of these is accounted for by the second Dutch war, and the second by the Act of 1677 for thirty new ships.[1] The effect of the third Dutch war upon shipbuilding can also be traced in the totals for 1673, 1674, and 1675.

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[1] See pp. 48 and 53, *supra.*

The thirty new ships consisted of one first-rate, nine second-rates, and twenty third-rates as follows—fourteen of them being built in 1679:—

1st rates	Date	2nd rates	Date	3rd rates	Date
Britannia	1682	Vanguard	1678	Anne	1678
		Windsor Castle	1678	Captain	1678
		Duchess	1679	Hampton Court	1678
		Sandwich	1679	Hope	1678
		Albemarle	1680	Lennox	1678
		Duke	1682	Restoration	1678
		Ossory	1682	Berwick	1679
		Neptune	1683	Breda	1679
		Coronation	1685	Burford	1679
				Eagle	1679
				Elizabeth	1679
				Essex	1679
				Expedition	1679
				Grafton	1679
				Kent	1679
				Northumberland	1679
				Pendennis	1679
				Stirling Castle	1679
				Exeter	1680
				Suffolk	1680

The figures for shipbuilding given on the preceding page may be arranged differently so as to show the yards and builders most actively employed during the period under consideration [see table on next page]. From these it will appear that Sir Anthony Deane and Sir Phineas Pett took the lead—the former with 3 first-rates, 4 third-rates, 3 fifth-rates, 6 sixth-rates, and 3 yachts; and the latter with 3 first-rates, 1 second-rate, 6 third-rates, 4 fourth-rates, and 9 yachts. No other builder came anywhere near these two in his achievements. Jonas Shish built two first-rates at Deptford, while Robert Lee of Chatham, and Edward Byland of Woolwich, built one each. Henry Johnson of Blackwall built as many as 5 third-rates; but no other builder except Deane and Pett was entrusted with more than three of any single rate.

In these figures no account is taken of any temporary

Yard	Builder	1st rates	2nd rates	3rd rates	4th rates	5th rates	6th rates	Yachts	Total
Blackwall .	Anthony Deane .	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
,,	Anthony Deane, Junr.	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
,, .	Henry Johnson .	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	5
Bristol .	Francis Bayly .	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	4
Chatham .	Robert Lee .	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
,, .	Joseph Lawrence	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
,, .	Phineas Pett .	3	1	6	1	—	—	4	15
Conpill .	Daniel Furzer .	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Cuckold's Point	John Deane .	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Deptford .	William Castle .	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
,, .	Peter Pett . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
,, .	Jonas Shish .	2	—	2	—	—	1	—	5
,, .	John Shish .	—	2	3	1	—	—	—	6
,, .	Captain Taylor .	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Forest of Dean	Daniel Furzer .	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Greenwich.	Phineas Pett .	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Harwich .	Isaac Betts. .	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	4
,, .	Anthony Deane .	—	—	3	—	1	3	—	7
Lambeth .	Peter Pett . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Portsmouth	Isaac Betts. .	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
,, .	Anthony Deane .	3	—	1	—	2	2	2	10
,, .	Daniel Furzer .	—	2	2	—	—	—	1	5
,, .	John Tippetts .	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	3
Rotherhithe	William Castle .	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
,, .	Anthony Deane .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
,, .	Jonas Shish .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Woodbridge	Phineas Pett .	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Woolwich .	Edw. Byland .	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
,, .	Christopher Pett	—	1	—	1	1	—	3	6
,, .	Phineas Pett .	—	—	—	2	—	—	3	5
,, .	Thomas Shish .	—	2	3	1	—	—	1	7
Yarmouth .	Henry Edgar .	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
	Total . .	10	14	32	15	7	7	22	107

increase of the naval force for special purposes. Thus there appear on the navy lists the names of 28 doggers and 28 fly-boats, all taken from the Dutch in 1664–6 or 1672–3. With a few exceptions these were not fitted for sea again, but were sold for what they were worth, or given to private persons, thus contributing to that waste of prizes by gift to individuals which is one of the scandals of the navy during this period. Two only appear in the engagement of August 1673, in which they were both sunk. No less than 111 fire-ships also appear on the lists for this period, but these were not built by the king. Most of them were either converted prizes or small vessels, chiefly colliers,[1] bought specially for the wars with Holland. As a rule they fulfilled the end of their existence, for the most common entry against them is 'Burnt in service.'

The general position of the navy as it stood at the end of the period—allowing on the one hand for the losses by war and tempest, and on the other for the gains by shipbuilding, may be ascertained from Pepys's final table in his *Register of the Royal Navy*.[2]

There are a few minor points of interest in the history of shipbuilding during the Restoration period on which light is thrown by the papers in the Pepysian Library.

It is generally known that the English shipbuilders of this period were to a certain extent indebted to foreign models, and one or two references to this occur among Pepys's memoranda, in which he quotes Sir Anthony Deane as his authority. The history of the yacht in the English navy begins with 1660. 'In the year 60,' Deane told Pepys, 'the Dutch gave his Majesty the yacht called the Mary, from whence came the improvement of our present yachts; for until that time we had not heard of such a name in England.'[3] The Mary of 100 tons was the first yacht on the navy lists, and she remained there until 1675, when she was cast away near Holyhead. From the model thus furnished, Christopher Pett in 1661 built the Anne at Woolwich. Her tonnage was the same, as also her beam and the length of her keel, but she drew three feet less water. In the same year the king was presented by the Dutch with another smaller yacht of 35 tons, called the Bezan. From this time forward yachts of various sizes were built in the English yards—the tendency of the builders being to increase their dimensions. The largest was the new Mary, a yacht of 166 tons, built in 1677 to replace the original Mary of 1660. The smallest were the Minion, of 22 tons, and the Jemmy (1662) and the Isle of Wight (1673), of 25 tons each.

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 443.

[2] P. 306, *infra.*

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 267.

'In the years '63 and '64,' Pepys ascertained from the same source, 'the Dutch and French built another sort of ship with two decks, which carried from 60 to 70 guns, and were so contrived that they carried their lower guns 4 foot from the water, and to stow 4 months' provision; whereas our frigates . . . which were narrower and sharper, carried their guns but little more than 3 foot from the water, and but 10 weeks' provision, which was to be avoided. Observing of this A. D. built the Rupert and Resolution, and Mr. Shish the Cambridge, Mr. Johnson the Warspite, Mr. Castle the Defiance. The two latter were, by contract with the commissioners of the navy, bound to carry 6 months' provisions, and their guns to lie 4½ foot from the water. This was another great step and improvement to our navy.'[1]

Another illustration of the influence of foreign examples upon English building is to be found in the Harwich, a third-rate of 993 tons and 70 guns, launched at Harwich in 1674. In building her Sir Anthony Deane copied the dimensions of a French ship, the Superbe, which came to Spithead with the French fleet during the Dutch war.[2] 'This ship,' said Deane,[3] 'was greatly commended, both by the French, and English that went on board her. She was 40 foot broad, carried 74 guns and six months' provisions, and but 2½ decks. Our frigates, being narrower, could not stow so much provisions nor carry their guns so far from the water.' The English copy of the Superbe became 'the pattern for the second and third rates built by . . . Act of Parliament, which is generally agreed to be without exception and the highest improvement that is known to this day.' When, in June 1675, the king went to Portsmouth by sea, escorted by a squadron, Pepys reported, 'The Harwich carries the bell from the whole fleet, great and small.'[1]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 267.

[2] *Ib.* p. 268.

[3] *Ib.* 269.

After 1673 the English shipbuilders, again following foreign examples, increased the beam of their second-rates. 'As to our three-deck ships,' says Pepys, quoting Sir Anthony Deane, 'the French and Dutch build them upwards of 44 foot broad, but we build none of our deck ships of the third-rate above 41 broad, and several under, by which means the Henry, the Katherine, &c., were useless until they were girdled. And, to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty has directed those 9 three-deck ships of the second-rate built and a-building to be near 45 foot broad, which is another improvement we had not till the year '73, the builders of England before that time having not well considered it that breadth only will make a stiff ship.'[2]

Another novelty of the period is the revival of the galley in the English navy. 'In the year '66,' Deane told Pepys,[3] 'the Duke of Florence gave his Majesty two of the best galleys they could build, one of which went from Leghorn to Tangier, a place likely to be of no advantage to the giver, who very well knew that a galley was not a secret, or perhaps they would have spared their present. We regarded it so little that it lies decaying by the walls, and made no use of it.' But in 1671 two galleys were built for the king at Leghorn and Genoa respectively,[4] and it was suggested that slaves should be bought in the Mediterranean—to serve against the common enemy of Christendom.[5] Later on a ketch was sent to Malta to buy slaves.[6] In September 1672[7] the galley at Leghorn made a trial trip, with 324 galley slaves—27 benches on each side, with six men to each. This was the larger of the two galleys, the one built at

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iv. 161.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 269.

[3] *Ib.* p. 268.

[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671, p. 325.

[5] *Ib.* p. 351.

[6] *Ib.* 1672, p. x.

[7] *Ib.* p. 606.

Genoa having only 26 benches with five men to each. On this trip 'she proved to be as good a galley as ever left the port of Leghorn by the judgment of the most experienced,' and the Grand Duke of Tuscany 'expressed much joy thereat.' The galley was named the Margaret,[1] out of compliment to the Grand Duchess. A further development of the galley took place in 1676. 'In the year '76,' writes Pepys, again on the authority of Sir Anthony Deane,[2] 'Captain Willshaw came from Toulon, and was telling his Majesty that they were building at Toulon several galley-frigates to row with many oars. Captain Willshaw could give his Majesty but an imperfect account, for that he could not well describe them. The next time Sir A. D. attended his Majesty he was pleased to speak of it, and asked if we knew what they were. A. D. answered, "No." Sir Jos. Williamson (as I take it), standing by, propounded to send A. D.'s son to see them. To which was replied he had an acquaintance to whom he would write at Toulon, and upon his answer did not doubt but to understand it. The answer being returned, A. D.'s son drew the draught of the James galley-frigate, and Mr. Pett the Charles, upon the same principles, and from thence came that improvement so useful to us against the Turks.' The James galley was built at Blackwall by Anthony Deane the younger, and the Charles galley at Woolwich by Phineas Pett, both in 1676. They are classed in Pepys's *Register of the Royal Navy* as fourth-rates.[3]

During the period some important experiments were made with milled lead sheathing, to which reference is occasionally made in the *Admiralty Letters*. These will be discussed as they occur.

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[1] Another 'Margaret galley' appears among the fourth-rates in Pepys's *Register of Ships* (see p. 272, *infra*). She was built at the arsenal at Pisa in 1671, by Beneditto Carlini, and was presented to Charles II by the Grand Duke (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 100).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 269.

[3] See pp. 270 and 272, *infra*.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the want of money affected shipbuilding, as it did every other department of naval activity. In particular, where ships were being built by contract in private yards, failure in the stipulated payments meant delay in completion.[1] In one case a frigate was actually finished but the builders were afraid to launch her, as they had run deeply into debt on account of her, and therefore feared to lose the temporary protection against arrest by their creditors which the king's service gave them.[2]

The naval papers relating to this period contain a number of interesting particulars about the cost of materials for shipbuilding, the price of ships worked out according to the tonnage, and various calculations of a like nature. Thus we learn from the heads of Pepys's speech of 1676–7[3] that 1,000 loads of timber will build a third-rate of 1,000 tons, and 2,000 loads of timber a second-rate of 1,300 tons;[4] that a ship of 500 tons will cost 8*l.* 5*s.* per ton, and a ship of 1,000 tons 10*l.* per ton;[5] a ship of 600 tons costs 4,800*l.* 'off the stocks,' but 13,000*l.* 'set to sea.'[5] According to a calculation made by Sir Anthony Deane, the cost of setting to sea first and second rates for six months was one third of the hull, and third-rates half the hull; while Sir John Tippetts, who affected accuracy, gave the figures as 30 per cent. of the hull for a first-rate, 33 for a second, and 45 for a third.[5] The latter was accustomed to calculate the cost of twelve months' sea stores by adding one-third of the cordage and sails to six months' stores.[6] The same document also gives a number of details concerning prices at different times, thus :—

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[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667–8, pp. 21, 205, 462, 563; 1667, p. 223.

[2] *Ib.* 1665–6, p. 295.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 453–69. See p. 48, *supra.*

[4] *Ib.* p. 456.

[5] *Ib.* p. 462.

[6] *Ib.* p. 463. Sir William Petty in his *Naval Philosophy* notes that the life of a ship is about 30 years, and it costs about 15*l.* a ton, fitted with gunner's, boatswain's, and carpenter's stores; the charge of the English navy in ordinary 'has by long experience amounted to' 20*s.* a ton per annum; and the charge of maintaining a man-of-war at sea, 'completely fitted, victualled, and manned,' 24*l.* a ton per annum (Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 488).

Great merchant ships, in 1653, 6*l.* a ton; now, 8*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*[1]

Merchant ships of 250 tons, in 1663, 5*l.* 6*s.* a ton ; now, 7*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*[2]

Merchant ships of 450 tons in Suffolk and Hampshire, in 1664, 5*l.* a ton ; now, 6*l.* 17*s.*[3]

Timber, compass and straight, 1655, 33*s.* and 34*s.* a load ; 1661, 38*s.* ; 1675, 56*s.*[4]

Plank, 1655, 3*l.* a load ; 1661, 3*l.* 5*s.* ; 1675, 4*l.* to 4*l.* 15*s.*[5]

In 1674 Sir Anthony Deane estimated the cost of the hull of a new ship, 90 feet long and 27 feet 6 inches broad, at 2,440*l.*, or 6*l.* 10*s.* a ton ; or, completely equipped with rigging, boats, &c., and six months' stores, but excluding gunner's stores, at 4,175*l.* 10*s.*[6]

It is worth while noting here that a number of similar calculations are to be found in a small manuscript volume[7] presented to Pepys by Mr. Edward Battine (or Batten), an official at Portsmouth. This bears the inordinate title of *The Method of Building, Rigging, Apparelling, and Furnishing His Majesty's Ships of War, according to their Rates, with the Exact Proportion and Charge of all things requisite thereunto ; also the Charge of Wages, Victuals, and Necessaries, as well for Ships in Harbour as at Sea ; the Number and Charge of Officers and Workmen at each Dockyard for building and repairing His Majesty's Ships, &c. ; the Salaries and Allowances granted to Commissioners and Officers of His Majesty's Navy ; and the Whole Charge of the same for one year.* In the letter of dedication prefixed to it, dated Portsmouth, 20 December, 1684, Battine remarks: 'The government of the navy (which has been exquisitely framed by his Royal Highness) is a subject too great for one of my capacity to discourse of, and should I offer it to your honour, it would be to light a candle to the sun; nor do I think hereby, or in the following collection (which I have drawn from the experience and practice of the most ingenious), to inform your honour in anything which you know not already, but to let your honour know with what respect I am your honour's most obliged and faithful servant.' This modest opinion of his labours appears to have been fully shared by the functionary whom he addressed, for when Mr. Battine ventured later on to present copies of his tables to the king and the lord treasurer, we find Pepys in a letter of 5 January, 1685–6, launching at him a rebuke of portentous solemnity. 'I am entirely a friend to your industry,' he writes,[1] 'and so would not say anything in discouragement to it, but, on the contrary, cherish it all I am able. This only in truth of friendship I must take the liberty of saying to you, that by the time you shall have conversed in the world and business as long as I have done, you'll find it of much more use to you rather to distrust than presume too easily upon the sufficiency and unanswerableness (as you term it) of your own conceptions; the errors visible in your collection of tables presented to the king and my lord treasurer (and of which I thankfully acknowledge your giving me a copy) being such and so many as (though I say again I would not in any wise discourage your seeming zeal and industry in it) would have required your committing them to the overlooking of some friend (and particularly Mr. Surveyor, your master, whom I doubt you omitted among those most knowing officers you speak of) before you had exposed them, especially with so much self-satisfaction as you appear to raise to yourself from them, as I may hereafter have opportunity between ourselves of showing you.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, ii. 462.
[2] *Ib.* p. 463.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] *Ib.*
[5] *Ib.*
[6] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iii. 320.
[7] Pepysian MSS. No. 977.

The collection of tables referred to contains a very large number of detailed calculations—the 'proportions for ships, with directions for drawing or delineating ships' bodies;' a complete set of tables for the dimensions of different parts of ships of war, according to rates, with the charge of building per ton; 'the charge of fitting pumps for a ship of each rate;' a list of ships in the royal navy, with dimensions, burden, when, where, and by whom built, with the price of their hulls launched; 'the exact rule for ships' masts and yards;' 'the dimensions and charge of masts for a ship of each rate;' 'the breadth and value of ships' tops;' 'the size and length of ropes necessary for rigging a ship of each rate, with the quantity, weight, and value of the same, also a proportion of blocks, deadeyes, parrels, and other provisions required thereunto, with the value thereof;' 'a complete proportion of sails, anchors, cables, and other boatswain's and carpenter's stores for a ship of each rate for six months' service, with the value of the same;' 'the number, nature, and weight of ordnance proper to each of his Majesty's ships of war, both in time of war and peace . . . also the quantity and value of gunner's stores for a ship of each rate;' 'the charge of building, rigging, and equipping a ship of each rate;' the allowance of wages to officers and seamen; 'his Majesty's gracious allowance of victuals;' 'the charge of maintaining a ship at sea six months;' the number and charge of ships necessary for convoys, &c.; 'the charge of a complete fleet for six months' service;' 'the charge of mooring and harbour necessaries for a ship of each rate for one year;' the charge of ships in harbour, the salaries and allowances of officers and their clerks at each dockyard, with the number of workmen and charge of materials necessary for repairs, the salaries of the principal officers; and, last of all, the whole charge of the navy for one year.

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[1] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, x., 530.

Although the letter of dedication is characterised by a certain simplicity, the tables are beautifully written and bound, and constitute a present quite worthy of the recipient's library. But possibly Mr. Pepys was on this occasion more anxious to repress 'self-satisfaction' in a subordinate than to give honour where it was due.

8. *Guns*

The year 1677 saw the adoption of a 'general establishment' of men and guns, the credit of which was claimed by the secretary to the admiralty.[1] Such an establishment had first come under consideration as early as 1674, and information on the subject had been supplied to the admiralty by the navy board on 16 March, 1673-4. A beautifully written and bound manuscript volume in the Pepysian Library,[2] entitled *An Establishment of Men and Guns to the whole Royal Navy of England*, contains the first draft submitted by the navy board. This draft, 'after many debates had thereon,' and 'upon several conferences iointly had between the officers of his Majesty's navy and ordnance, and several flag officers and principal commanders of his fleet,'[3] was adopted, with some slight modifications, by the king and the lords commissioners of the admiralty on 3 November, 1677.[4] It was intended 'for a solemn, universal, and unalterable adjustment of the gunning and manning of the whole fleet (otherwise than by order of the king and council).'[5]

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[1] 'I first brought the establishment for men and guns for the whole fleet to be adjusted between the officers of the navy and ordnance and chief officers of the fleet, and upon solemn hearing before the king and lords of the admiralty and the measures thereof debated, signed by the king and the lords, and so settled' (Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 61). Pepys afterwards complained that this establishment was 'broken into' in 1682 (*ib.* p. 201).

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 1340.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 201.

[4] *Ib.* p. 210. The modifications made in the draft were two. (1) The admirals of the white and blue were allowed a retinue of thirty men each, instead of forty and thirty respectively, as proposed in the draft (see p. 241, *infra*). (2) The establishment of men formally adopted was the maximum establishment only—that for 'war at home.' It was left to the discretion of the officers of the navy to make such abatements as they thought fit in the cases of 'peace' or 'war abroad.' The calculations of the officers were accepted *en bloc* as the establishment for ships under third-rates, on the ground that they were the best judges of their capacity (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 201-2).

[5] *Ib.*

The establishment of guns thus determined is contained in *Naval Precedents*,[1] in two lists: the first according to quality and number only, and the second according to the distribution of weight upon each deck. The tables subjoined give the figures for the largest and smallest ship of each rate:[2]—

Establishment of Guns in War at Home[3]

Rates	Names	Total No. of Guns	Cannon of 7	Demi-cannon	24-pounders	Whole Culverins	12-pounders	Demi-culverins	Sakers	Light Sakers	3-pounders
1st	Royal Sovereign.	100	26	—	28	—	—	28	—	14	4
	St. Michael .	90	—	26	—	26	—	26	—	10	2
2nd	Royal Katherine	84	—	26	—	26	—	—	24	8	—
	Rainbow . .	64	—	22	—	—	—	22	14	6	—
3rd	Edgar . .	72	—	26	—	—	24	—	—	16	4
	Dunkirk . .	60	—	—	24	—	—	24	—	10	2
4th	Leopard . .	54	—	—	24	—	—	—	22	8	—
	Nonsuch . .	42	—	—	—	—	20	18	4	—	—
5th	Sapphire . .	32	—	—	—	—	18	10	—	—	4
	Rose . . .	28	—	—	—	—	16	8	—	—	4
6th	Lark . . .	18	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	2
	Young Spragge .	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—

Establishment of Guns in Peace, and in War abroad[3]

Rates	Names	Total No. of Guns	Cannon of 7	Demi-cannon	24-pounders	Whole Culverins	12-pounders	Demi-culverins	Sakers	Light Sakers	3-pounders
1st	Royal Sovereign.	90	24	—	26	—	—	26	—	10	4
	St. Michael .	80	—	24	—	24	—	24	—	8	—
2nd	Royal Katherine	74	—	24	—	24	—	—	20	6	—
	Rainbow . .	54	—	20	—	—	—	20	10	4	—
3rd	Edgar . .	62	—	24	—	—	24	—	12	—	2
	Dunkirk . .	52	—	—	22	—	—	20	—	10	—
4th	Leopard . .	46	—	—	22	—	—	—	18	6	—
	Nonsuch . .	36	—	—	—	—	18	14	4	—	—
5th	Sapphire . .	28	—	—	—	—	16	8	—	—	4
	Rose . . .	26	—	—	—	—	14	8	—	—	4
6th	Lark . . .	16	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—
	Young Spragge .	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, p. 202.

[2] The largest third-rate on the list is the Royal Oak, 74 guns, but the figures given for this do not appear to be quite accurate.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 202-4.

Numbers, Natures, and Weights of the Guns carried on each Deck[1]

Rates	Names	Lower Deck			Middle Deck			Upper Deck			Quarter-deck and Forecastle			Poop			Total		
		Number	Nature	Weight	Number	Nature	Weight	Number	Nature	Weight	Number	Nature	Weight	Number	Nature	Weight	Number	Weight	—
1st	Royal Sovereign	26		78	28	24-p'ders	51	28	Demi-culv.	38	14	Light saker	9·4	4	3-p'ders	16	100	177	War at home
		24		72	26		47¼	26		35¼	10		6·19	4		16	90	162¼	Peace
	St. Michael								Not			given							
2nd	Royal Katherine	26		58¼	26	Wh'le culv.	41¼	24	Saker	26¾	8	Light saker	5	—	—	—	84	131¼	War
		24		53¾	24		37¾	20	—	22¼	6		3¾	—	—	—	74	117½	Peace
	Rainbow	22		46	22	Demi-culv.	34¼	14	—	18	6	—	3	—	—	—	64	101¼	War
		20		41¾	20		30	10	—	16	4	—	3	—	—	—	54	90¾	Peace
3rd	Edgar	26		63	—	—	—	26	12-p'ders	43	16	—	9·14	4	—	16	72	116½	War
		24		58	—	—	—	24		39½	12	—	6·17	2	—	8	62	104¾	Peace
	Dunkirk	24	24-p'ders	46½	—	—	—	24	Demi-culv.	28½	10	—	5·12	2	—	8	60	81	War
		22		42½	—	—	—	20		23¾	10	—	5	—	—	—	52	71¼	Peace
4th	Leopard	24	—	50	—	—	—	22	Saker	23	8	—	4	—	—	—	54	77	War
		22	—	45¾	—	—	—	18	—	18¾	6	—	3	—	—	—	46	67½	Peace
	Nonsuch	20	Demi-culv.	25¾	—	—	—	18	—	12¼	4	—	1½	—	—	—	42	39½	War
		18		23	—	—	—	14	—	9½	4	—	1½	—	—	—	36	34	Peace
5th	Sapphire	18	—	28	—	—	—	10	Light saker	8½	4	Min.	1½	—	—	—	32	38	War
		16	—	23¾	—	—	—	8		6¾	4	—	1½	—	—	—	28	32	Peace
	Rose	16	—	20	—	—	—	8	—	4¾	4	—	1¼	—	—	—	28	28½	War
		14	—	17½	—	—	—	8	—	4¾	4	—	1¼	—	—	—	26	26	Peace
6th	Lark	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	Saker	13¼	2	—	¾	—	—	—	18	14	War
		—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	13¼	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	13¼	Peace
	Young Spragge	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	5¼	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	5¼	War
		—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	4	Peace

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, pp. 206–10.

The corresponding establishment for the thirty new ships still to be built, with some further details concerning the dimensions of the ordnance[1]—the armament of each rate being homogeneous—is also given in the following form :—

The Quality, Number, Weight, and Length of Ordnance proposed to be established for the Thirty Ships of War to be built of the Rates and Tonnage undermentioned[2]

Ships' Burden	Number and Quality of Ordnance	W'ght of each in Cwt.	Full Weight in Tons	L'ngth in Feet	—	Total Weights in Tons
First-rate of 1,500 tons and 100 guns	26 cannon of 7 .	65	84·10	9½		
	28 whole culverins	42	58·16	9½		
	28 sakers .	22	30·16	8½		
	12 sakers .	16	12·16	7		
	4 sakers .	16				
	2 3-pounders .	5	·10	5	Weight of guns in the first-rate	
	100 guns	Tons	187·8			187·8
9 second-rates of 1,300 tons each and 90 guns	26 demi-cannon	54	70·4	9½		
	26 whole culverins	40	52·0	9		
	26 sakers .	22	28·12	8½		
	10 sakers .	16	8·0	7	Weight of guns in the 9 second-rates	
	2 3-pounders .	5	·10	5		
	90 guns	Tons	159·6			1433·14
20 third-rates of 1,000 tons each and 70 guns	26 demi-cannon	54	70·4	9½		
	26 12-pounders .	32	41·12	9		
	10 sakers .	16	8·0	7		
	4 sakers .	16	3·4	7	Weight of guns in the 20 third-rates	
	4 3-pounders .	5	1·0	5		
	70 guns	Tons	124·0			2480·0
					Total weight	4101·2

The requirements of the whole fleet are also brought together in a final table, which includes the thirty new ships. The draft establishment for the thirty new ships was the work of Sir Richard Haddock, Sir Anthony Deane, and Col. Legge.[3]

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[1] Derrick, who appears to have drawn to a certain extent upon the Pepysian papers, gives a few of these facts in the 28th Appendix to his *Memoirs of the Royal Navy.*

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 205.

[3] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 201.

An Abstract of the Number of Ships and Number and Quality of Guns in each Rate[1]

—	Rates	—	No. of Ships	Cannon of 7	Demi-cannon	24-pounders	Whole Culverins	12-pounders	Demi-culverins	Sakers	Light Sakers	Minion	3-pounders	Total
135 ships of war	1	With 1 new ship	9	208	26	28	222	—	216	—	118	—	32	850
	2	With 9 new ships	17	—	420	—	380	—	44	410	146	—	2	1,402
	3	With 20 new ships	42	—	750	316	28	792	266	—	572	—	172	2,896
	4	With 2 galleys	40	—	—	236	438	—	164	816	226	—	10	1,890
	5	With 5 fire-ships	17	—	—	—	—	—	230	146	—	60	—	436
	6	With 2 ketches	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	126	—	2	4	112 [*sic.*]
														7,586 [*sic.*]
45 small vessels		Hulks	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Hoys	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Sloops	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52	52
		Smacks	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Yachts	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	116	116
Total 180				208	1,196	580	1,068	792	920	1,498	1,062	62	388	7,754 [*sic.*]

The different Weight of Guns used in the Navy

Guns	Weight in Cwt. in MS. 1340			Weight in Cwt. in Monson's *Naval Tracts*
	Least	Medium	Biggest	
Cannon of 7	51	57	63	49 (5,500 lbs.)
6-pounders	15	22	30	
Demi-cannon	40	45	50	35¾ (4,000 lbs.)
Saker	14	20	26	12½ (1,400 lbs.)
24-pounders	32	38½	43	
Demi-culverin Cutts	10	13	16	
Culverin	30	35	40	40 (4,500 lbs.)
Saker cuts	8	10	12	
12-pounders	27	30½	34	
Minion	7	9	11	9 (1,000 lbs.)
Demi-culverin	22	26	30	30 (3,400 lbs.)
3-pounders	3½	4¼	5	

It should be observed that up to about 1675 the tendency had been to increase the weight of ordnance in the navy,[1] and after 1675 to diminish it. A description of the various kinds of ordnance used in his day is given by Sir William Monson in his *Naval Tracts.*[2] If this is compared with some figures given in the draft establishment referred to above,[3] it shows an increase in the weight of the heavier pieces of ordnance. [See table on preceding page.]

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 2867, *Naval Precedents*, p. 205.

On the other hand the average weight of guns under the new establishment shows a slight reduction as compared with 1672. Thus :—

Ships	Rates	Men	Guns	Medium Weight of Guns carried in the Year 1672									Medium Weight of Guns as they are now established by Rule in the Year 1676								
				Cannon of 7	Demi-cannon	24-pounders	Whole Culverin	12-pounders	Demi-culverin	Demi-culv. Cutts or Sakers	Minion	3-pounders	Cannon of 7	Demi-cannon	24-pounders	Whole Culverin	12-pounders	Demi-culverin	Demi-culv. Cutts or Sakers	Minion	3-pounders
Royal Charles	1	815	100	58½	—	—	36	—	29	14	—	4	59	—	—	35½	—	25¾	12½	—	5
Victory .	2	530	82	—	47	—	33	—	27	13½	—	4	—	45½	—	31¾	—	Saker 22	12¼	—	—
Resolution	3	420	70	—	45½	—	23		—	16	–	4½	—	43¼	—	—	30	—	11¼		—
Leopard .	4	280	54	—	—	40	—	—	26	14	—	—	—	—	41¾	—	—	6-p. 20¾	10	—	—
Norwich .	5	130	30	—	—	—	—	—	25	16	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	D.-c. 26½	15½	7½	—
Greyhound	6	75	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—

This was a reversion to the much older view of Sir Walter Ralegh, that in his day ships were 'over-pestered and clogged with great ordnance.'[4]

The establishment of men had been sometimes calculated by the ship's burden—one man to every four tons above 40 and under 400 tons; above 400 tons, one man to every three tons. The method adopted in the new establishment was the alternative one of reckoning 'after the number and quality of the great guns that the ship doth carry, with an answerable allowance of some spare hands for the handling of the sails.'[1] Thus the establishment of men was determined mainly by the number and size of the guns carried on board each ship, with the additional men, according to a specified proportion, for other duties that had to be discharged during an action at sea. The draft establishment referred to above gives the following scale for the whole navy.[2] The ships given in the manuscript are the largest and smallest of each rate.

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[1] The general tendency towards an increase in the number of guns between 1660 and 1675 is noted in *Archæologia*, xlviii. 169.

[2] Churchill, *Voyages*, iii. 342.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 1340, p. 8.

[4] *Works*, viii. 342.

A Table of the numbers of men fit to be allowed each gun and employed on the several works undermentioned in time of service on board his Majesty's ships, from which method we ground the preceding establishment for the whole fleet.

Description of Guns, &c.	First-rate				Second-rate				Third-rate				Fourth-rate				Fifth-rate				Sixth-rate			
	Royal Charles		St. Michael		Royal Katherine		Rainbow		Edgar		Dunkirk		Leopard		Nonsuch		Sapphire		Rose		Lark		Young Spragge	
	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men
Cannon of 7—to each 7 men .	26	182	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Demi-cannon ,, 5 ,, .	—	—	26	130	26	130	22	110	26	130	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24-pounders ,, 5 ,, .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	120	24	120	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Whole Culverin ,, 4 ,, .	28	112	26	104	26	104	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12-pounders ,, 4 ,, .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	104	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Demi-culverin ,, 3 ,, .	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	66	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	60	18	54	16	48	—	—	—	—
Saker ,, 3 ,, .	28	84	26	78	24	72	14	42	16	48	24	72	22	66	18	54	10	30	8	24	16	48	10	20
Minion ,, 3 ,, .	14	42	10	30	8	24	6	18	—	—	10	30	8	24	4	12	4	8	4	8	2	4	—	—
3-pounders ,, 2 ,, .	4	8	2	4	—	—	—	—	4	8	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
To carry powder for all the guns	—	34	—	30	—	28	—	20	—	20	—	15	—	12	—	8	—	6	—	6	—	4	—	3
To fill and hand powder for all the guns	—	15	—	10	—	6	—	6	—	6	—	6	—	5	—	3	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	2
Chirurgeon and crew in hold	—	10	—	8	—	8	—	8	—	7	—	6	—	4	—	4	—	3	—	3	—	3	—	2
Carpenter and crew . .	—	8	—	6	—	4	—	4	—	4	—	3	—	3	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	1
Purser and crew in hold .	—	5	—	5	—	4	—	4	—	3	—	2	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Men for the small shot . .	—	110	—	80	—	65	—	51	—	45	—	32	—	20	—	16	—	14	—	15	—	11	—	10
Men to stand by the sails .	—	120	—	90	—	75	—	61	—	55	—	38	—	24	—	20	—	16	—	17	—	12	—	12
Men for the boats and tops .	—	50	—	25	—	20	—	20	—	15	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total . . .	100	780	90	600	84	540	64	410	72	445	60	340	54	280	42	180	32	135	28	125	18	85	10	50

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[1] Captain Boteler, *Six Dialogues about Sea Service*, p. 65.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 1340, p. 7.

This table does not include the thirty new ships; but a similar establishment for these[1] can be obtained from Pepys's own correspondence in the *Admiralty Letters.*[2] This, however, shows some variations.

No. of Guns	First-rate	No. of Men	No. of Guns	Second-rate	No. of Men	No. of Guns	Third-rate	No. of Men
26	Cannon of 7: 8 men to a gun	208	26	Demi-cannon: 6 men	156	26	Demi-cannon: 6 men	156
28	Culverin: 5 men to a gun .	140	26	Culverin: 5 men .	130	26	12-pounders: 4 men.	104
	Men to govern the guns .	8	—	—	8	—	—	6
28	Saker: 3 men to a gun .	84	26	Saker, 3 men . .	78	12	Saker: 3 men . .	36
4	,, 3 ,, ,, . .	12	—	—	4	2	,, 3 ,, . .	6
12	,, 3 ,, ,, . .	36	10	Saker: 3 men . .	30	—	—	—
2	3-pounders: 2 men to a gun	4	2	—	4	2	3-pounders: 2 men .	4
	To carry powder . . .	38	—	—	30	—	—	20
	To fill and hand powder .	16	—	—	14	—	—	10
	To hand down wounded men	12	—	—	12	—	—	8
	Chirurgeon and crew . .	8	—	—	8	—	—	5
	Carpenter and crew . .	8	—	—	6	—	—	4
	Purser and his crew . .	6	—	—	5	—	—	5
	Boats: three . . .	30	—	—	30	—	—	16
	To the tops, if no flag . .	10	—	—	10	—	—	5
	For the helm . . .	2	—	—	2	—	—	2
	To con the ship . . .	2	—	—	2	—	—	2
	Small shot	80	—	—	65	—	—	35
	To the sails and rigging .	80	—	—	66	—	—	36
100		784	90		660	68		460

The result of these rather elaborate calculations was also stated in the draft establishment in the form of a simple rule of thumb, which could be applied to reckon readily in future the number of men required to work a ship of any given size. Ships with three decks were to be allowed in war fifty men to every hundred tons burden, and in peace thirty-six; ships under three decks were to be allowed forty and twenty-six respectively. For foreign service the complement was to be 'the medium number between war and peace.'[3] This proportion applied only to ships hereafter to be built; 'for what is already built no general rule can be given exactly, the burdens and number of ports being so various and different.' A similar proportion was also calculated for guns, the 'weight of guns' being 'to every hundred tons the ship is in burden, in war—

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[1] *Cf.* Derrick, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*, 28th Appendix.

[2] vi. 221.

[3] See p. 233, *supra*, note 4.

1st-rates	12½	tons—by this establishment the nearest numbers;
2nd „	12½	
3rd „	11½	
4th „	11½	
5th „	11	
6th „	7	

in peace proportionably.'[1]

The additional allowance of men proposed in the draft establishment for retinues was as follows:—'Over and above the establishment of men to each ship, to be allowed the lord high admiral or general that commands the whole fleet, 50 men for his flag; to the admiral of the white, 40;[2] to the admiral of the blue, 30;[2] to the vice-admirals of the white, red, and blue, 20; to the rear-admirals of the white, red, and blue, 15; to an admiral jack flag abroad or at home, equal with an admiral of blue, and the like with vice and rear admirals; and all volunteers, midshipmen extraordinary, and their servants, that are sent on board any of his Majesty's ships by warrant from his Majesty or the lord high admiral.'[3]

It is convenient to notice here that there appears in the *Miscellanies*,[4] under date 1 January, 1684–5, an establishment of guns for the navy that differs in many particulars from the 'unalterable' establishment of 1677, though it emanates from the ordnance office only,[5] and there is no record of its having been approved by the navy board or sanctioned by the king. The character of these proposals can be best illustrated by showing the arrangements now suggested for the same ships which were selected in the previous paper from the establishment of 1677 as the largest and smallest of each rate. The paper is entitled 'A List of His Majesty's Navy Royal, with the Ordnance proposed to each respectively in time of War.'

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[1] Pepysian MSS. No. 1340, p. 9.

[2] See p. 233, *supra*, note 4.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 1340, p. 9.

[4] xi. 111.

[5] The lists are signed by Sir Christopher Musgrave, the lieutenant-general of ordnance, Sir Edward Sherburne, clerk, Ber de Gomme and Tho. Gardiner.

Rates	Names	Total No. of Guns	Cannon of 7	Demi-cannon	24-pounders	Culverin	12-pounders	Demi-culverin			8-pounders	6-pounders	Saker			3-pounders	Minion
								Fortified	Drakes	Cutts			Fortified	Drakes	Cutts		
1st	Royal Sovereign .	100	26	—	26	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	20[1]	—	—	—	—
	St. Michael . .	96	—	26	—	26	—	26[1]	—	10	—	4	—	—	—	4	—
2nd	Royal Katherine .	86	—	26	—	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	34[1]	—	—	—	—
	Unicorn[2] . .	60	—	20	—	4	22	10[1]	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3rd	Edgar . . .	74	—	24	—	28	—	12	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Dunkirk . .	60	—	—	—	22	—	24	—	12	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
4th	Leopard . .	54	—	—	—	24	—	—	24	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Nonsuch . .	40	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	11	5	—	—	4
5th	Sapphire . .	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	2	10
	Rose . . .	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	8	—	—	4	—
6th	Lark . . .	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	2	—
	Fanfan[3]. . .	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4

To this is annexed the following table[4] [see next page] showing the relation between the number of guns required for this establishment and the guns actually available, either on board ship or in the ordnance stores. It suggests that the navy was tolerably well provided.

The year 1683 saw an attempt to reorganise the office of the ordnance. The Pepysian Library contains a fine copy of new *Rules, Orders, and Instructions for the future Government of the Office of the Ordnance*,[5] dated 25 July, 1683, and addressed to 'our right trusty and well-beloved councillor George, Lord Dartmouth, master-general of our ordnance,' who was responsible for the draft which the king now confirmed. From the king's warrant of confirmation we learn that this reorganisation followed the general lines

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[1] The demi-culverins and sakers in the first-rates are not distinguished as 'fortified' and 'drakes;' nor are the former in the second-rates, or the latter in the third-rates.

[2] The Rainbow, which took this place in the list of 1677, does not appear at all on this list, as she was ordered to be sunk at Sheerness on 20 March, 1680.

[3] The Young Spragge, which took this place in the list of 1677, does not appear, as she was made a fire-ship in that year.

[4] Pepysian MSS. *Miscellanies*, xi. 122.

[5] Pepysian MSS. No. 2827.

Abstract of the aforesaid Ordnance, with an Account how far his Majesty's Guns in Store and on Shipboard can comply with the same

—	Proposed by the List		On Board and on Shore		Overplus		Wanting to complete the Proportion	
	Fortified	Drakes	Fortified	Drakes	Fortified	Drakes	Fortified	Drakes
Cannon of 7 .	192	—	267	10	75	10	—	—
Demi-cannon	994	66	913	174	—	27	—	—
24-pounders .	346	—	347	—	1	—	—	—
Culverin .	993	211	1,122	406	129	195	—	—
12-pounders .	1,004	—	956	8	—	—	40	—
Demi-culverin	748	360	1,015	519	267	159	—	—
Demi-culverin Cutts .	250	—	286	—	36	—	—	—
8-pounders .	282	—	424	—	142	—	—	—
6-pounders .	382	—	540	18	158	18	—	—
Saker . .	947	93	854	155	—	—	15	—
Saker Cutts .	218	—	234	—	—	—		—
Minion . .	118	—	237	8	119	8	—	—
3-pounders .	324	—	422	1	98	1	—	—
Falcon . .	46	—	95	—	49	—	—	—
Falconet .	4	—	17	—	13	—	—	—
Rabonet .	3	—	8	—	5	—	—	—
Total . .	6,851	730	7,737	1,299	1,092	418	55	—

of the earlier reorganisation of 13 February, 1664–5.[1] The sale of places was again forbidden, and the master-general was henceforth to have 'a plentiful and sufficient salary' of 1,500*l.*, to enable him to support the dignity of his office 'without having recourse to those undue means formerly practised.' This was granted 'to the end that neither you nor any coming into or executing the said place after you shall either by him or themselves, or by any other person, take or receive any sum or sums of money, presents, gratuities, or other consideration for any warrant, place, or employment whatsoever within the said office, the selling of which places and employments hath been and must necessarily (if continued) be the cause of many great mischiefs to our service.' The manuscript contains a full statement of the proper duties of each official belonging to the ordnance office, and a list of the official salaries, which amounted altogether to 10,643*l.* 10*s.*[1] The instructions of 1683 were amended by James II by an order of 4 February, 1686–7. In spite of this reorganisation the system of the ordnance office turned out to be very defective when it was tried by the test of 1688. As early as 11 September,[2] Pepys writes of 'complaints' that 'do almost every day come to his Majesty of the loss of time' due to the 'backwardness and unreadiness' of the officials of the ordnance office in sending guns and stores aboard the fleet, and during the important months of preparation these complaints constantly recur.[3] Pepys himself seems to ascribe the breakdown of this part of the naval organisation partly to the fact that the ordnance office was at this time exposed to exceptional demands from the army also, and partly to the absence of Lord Dartmouth, the master-general.[4]

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[1] See note 1 on p. 9, *supra.*

If the naval administrations of the period from the Restoration to the Revolution are viewed as a whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they are not quite as black as they have been painted. At any rate facts and figures such as those contained in the naval manuscripts in the Pepysian Library go a long way to justify the claims made by Pepys on behalf of the administrations with which he himself was connected, and particularly on behalf of the Special Commission of 1686, which 'raised the navy of

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[1] The lieutenant-general, 800*l.* ; the surveyor clerk of the ordnance, and storekeeper, 400*l.* each ; the clerk of the deliveries, 300*l.* ; the treasurer of the ordnance, 500*l.* ; and the secretary or chief clerk to the master of the ordnance, for himself and under-clerks, 200*l.*, with the right to charge a fee varying from 10*s.* to 2*l.* for entering new appointments.

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xiv. 417.

[3] *Ib.* xv. 21 (21 Sept.) ; xv. 49 (27 Sept.) ; xv. 71 (2 Oct.) ; xv. 79 (3 Oct.) ; xv. 119–20 (8 Oct.) ; 13 Oct. (p. 160) ; 20 Oct. (pp. 222–3) ; 22 Oct. (p. 228) ; 26 Oct. (p. 242) ; 29 Oct. (p. 261) ; 2 Nov. (p. 292) ; 16 Nov. (p. 376).

[4] *Ib.* xv. 380–1.

England from the lowest state of impotence to the most advanced step towards a lasting and solid prosperity that (all circumstances considered) this nation had ever seen it at.'[1] The characteristic vices of the Restoration period are there—'the laziness of one, the private business or love of pleasure in another, want of method in a third, and zeal to the affair in the most'—but except during the period 1679 to 1684 there was no abject incompetence, and something was effected from time to time in the way of solid reform. To claim some of the credit of this for Charles II seems almost extravagant, but the papers in the Pepysian Library certainly suggest that something more than is commonly allowed was due to the keen interest taken in naval matters by the king, as well as by James, Duke of York. 'If it had not pleased God,' wrote Pepys in his minute-book,[2] 'to give us a king and duke that understood the sea, this nation had ere this been quite beaten out of it.' One of the recent biographers of Charles II credits him with a 'love of ships and shipbuilding' because he was 'constantly at Sheerness and on the fleet, and took great pleasure in his yachts.'[3] But even this scarcely does him full justice. Pepys, who was at first deceived by the king's devotion to that 'bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering,' and wrote of him in the *Diary* that he 'do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business,'[4] realised afterwards that although this was true, it was not the whole truth. In his minute-book of notes for his projected History of the Navy, where the entries could scarcely have been made for effect, he writes of Charles as a king 'who best understands the business of the sea of any prince the world ever had,'[5] and this enables us to accept as not wholly insincere his remark in another place that 'his Majesty possessed a transcendent mastery in all maritime knowledge.'[1] And there is a good deal in the official correspondence to confirm these general statements. It is not only clear that Charles II took a general interest in ships and shipbuilding,[2] but the papers show also that during the time that he was himself lord high admiral he transacted a good deal of naval business with his own hand, and descended, like his predecessors, to the smallest matters of detail.[3]

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[1] *Memoirs*, p. 213.

[2] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 90-1.

[3] *D.N.B.* x. 106.

[4] *Diary*, iii. 123.

[5] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 76.

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[1] Derrick, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*, p. 84.

[2] The king usually attended the launching of a new ship, the day being specially arranged to suit his convenience (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*; Penn, *Memorials of Sir W. Penn*, ii. 301–2; *Diary*, 26 Oct. 1664, iv. 275). He was accustomed to visit the dockyards on other occasions also (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, vi. 76 ('his principal inducement to this voyage being an expectation of great sport in his shooting of fowls upon Sheppey, and visiting his yard at Chatham'); vii. 364; *Diary*, 23 May, 1664, iv. 140; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1667-8, p. 582). On one of these he is reported as expressing 'infinite satisfaction' with Sir John Holmes's account of the 'working and sailing' of the Captain, 'he taking great pleasure in recounting it as often as any come in his way [that] can be thought in anywise to understand it.' Pepys adds, 'I have not any time known the king more gratified in anything of this kind in my whole life than in this account of the success of his art in this ship' (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, ix. 213, 218).

[3] Thus we find him selecting ships for special services (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, iv. 361; v. 1; vii. 345); deciding whether a commander should be allowed to wear a pennant (viii. 185); hearing an argument between experts on points arising in connexion with a double dry dock to be built at Chatham, and giving an independent decision thereon (x. 207). Not only is all promotion theoretically in his hands as admiral (vi. 114), but he actually makes the appointments. We find him appointing a storekeeper (v. 3), pursers (v. 193), and even a boatswain, though in this last case the navy board is asked to submit one or two names from which the king may choose (viii. 467; ix. 118). Officers desiring leave of absence apply to the secretary to the admiralty, but the matter comes before the king, and the leave is granted by him (viii. 239; ix. 187, and elsewhere). Matters of discipline are referred to him. He receives a report on the behaviour of so lowly an individual as the porter at Portsmouth dockyard, who had been charged with disobedience and keeping 'a common alehouse and tavern at his lodging,' and had been pardoned upon promise of amendment (x. 63), and Pepys has to wait until the king returns from Newmarket before the suspension of a master joiner for misconduct can be removed (x. 156). The principal officers of the ordnance expect a warrant 'under the king's hand,' authorising them to remove the gunner's stores from a prize (v. 161), and Pepys sends

That James II possessed a creditable knowledge of naval affairs has always been admitted, and Macaulay himself allows that he would have made a 'respectable clerk in the dockyard at Chatham.' But though the virtues of princes are in danger of being exaggerated, the Pepysian papers certainly suggest something more than this. While he was lord high admiral, the same detailed business came to him as had come to his brother,[1] but he also appears as an authority upon shipbuilding questions;[2] and Pepys, writing in his minute-book, ascribes a great deal of the strength of the navy at that time to his energy in 'getting ships to be begun to be built, in confidence that when they were begun they would not let them want finishing, who otherwise would never of themselves have spared money from lesser uses to begin to build.'[3] Thus, in spite of all defects and disadvantages, some ground was gained in the navy under both Charles and James, and the ground gained was never lost. The naval organisation of 1688 was more efficient and governed by better traditions than that of the earlier part of Charles II's reign, while it was an infinite improvement on the system of organised abuses that existed under Charles I.[4]

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to Newmarket to obtain instructions about the disposal of its cargo of brimstone (v. 183). A later letter of 24 June, 1687 (xiii. 158) speaks of the present establishment of men for the navy having been 'finished under the personal inspection and control of his late Majesty, as also of our present Majesty then Duke of York and Prince Rupert.'

[1] *E.g.* he appoints a boatswain (Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xi. 330) and a cook (xi. 492), and is referred to for instructions about the disposal of 'decayed' stores (xii. 6). The numerous references to him in the State Papers also, show that he bestowed much attention on the duties of his office (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667-8, p. xxxvi; *cf.* also *Diary*, 8 July, 1668, viii. 63).

[2] Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xii. 71. We also find him desiring 'for his own satisfaction and use to have an account of the just rake of all the upright-stemmed ships in his royal navy, and the present seat of the step of each ship's mainmast' (*ib.* xi. 200); and his pocket-book in the Pepysian Library (MSS. No. 488) contains a number of facts about the navy. For his interest in inventions, see Pepysian MSS. *Admiralty Letters*, xii. 91, and xiii. 23.

[3] Pepysian MSS. No. 2866, *Naval Minutes*, p. 175.

[4] See Oppenheim, pp. 221–33.

But if Charles II and James II contributed something to the improvement of the navy in their day, much more is to be attributed to the methodical industry of their subordinate, Samuel Pepys, and to his 'daily eye and hand' upon all branches of naval affairs. Even official documents sometimes reveal the man, and no one who reads the Pepysian papers can doubt that Pepys was, in his way, one of the best officials England ever had. His official style, taken alone, would give him a reputation. The labyrinthine sentences, in which the thread of thought winds deviously through an infinite number of dependent clauses, but always brings the reader in the end to the destined goal ; the deliberate selection of words that sound and re-echo, without any sacrifice of precision of meaning ; the reader's sense of something dignified moving before him, like a procession—all this is characteristic of any official papers in which Pepys himself had a hand. Yet they are always saved from being dull or ponderous by the writer's native shrewdness of observation and fine full-flavoured sense of humour.

On the difficult question whether Pepys was corruptible in his later years, the papers in the Pepysian Library throw little light. There is no trace of anything of the kind in the official correspondence, which, on the contrary, contains some admirably phrased declarations of virtue. The sceptic might say that official correspondence, while it is the natural home of such declarations, is the last place to which anybody would go for evidence of corruption. This is of course true, but the Pepysian papers taken as a whole contribute to the problem a definite impression that Pepys had become too proud of the navy and his share in making it what it was, to lend himself, at any rate to the lower and more obvious forms of corruption. Even in the *Diary* days the workings of what one of his critics describes as his 'decomposed Puritan mind' led him to distinguish, and to try to justify to himself the presents which he accepted. He was glad to do the giver a good turn when he could, but he always hoped against hope that it would be 'without wrong to the king's service.' And it is at least arguable that when in later life Pepys was in a better position, received better pay, and had developed that eagerness for the efficiency and success of his own department which high responsibility always arouses in those for whom the salt of life has not yet lost its savour, he refused to succumb to the meaner temptations to which the young man just beginning life had fallen an easy prey. Even official letters, when they are numbered by thousands, may be witnesses to character, for by an infinite number of delicate strokes they at length produce a portrait of the writer. Such impressions would, of course, be valueless against direct evidence of corruption, but where no such evidence exists they are worth taking into account.

It must be remembered also that the name of Pepys carried great weight in the navy during the whole of the next century. The commission that reported in June 1805, spoke of him as 'a man of extraordinary knowledge in all that related to the business' of the navy, 'of great talents, and the most indefatigable industry;'[1] and the period of his authority left a durable tradition of his greatness. But the worst enemy to the reputation of the official Pepys is the Pepys of the *Diary*; and there is a danger lest the intimate self-revelation of his earlier life should be suffered to eclipse the record of a fine career of public service. Indeed it is difficult to persuade the modern world to take Pepys seriously. The typical attitude is one of half amused, half contemptuous pity, and even a man of learning like the editor of the Hodgkin Papers writes of him as 'the most amusing and capable of our seventeenth century diarists,'[2] as if he were a literary performer who had been unusually successful in making sport to beguile the leisure of later generations. If the life of Samuel Pepys is viewed as a whole, it may be fairly argued that the *Diary*, with all its absorbing interest as a human document, is after all a mere bye-product. We are apt to forget that Pepys was not seven-and-twenty when he began it, and only six-and-thirty when the state of his eyesight compelled him to bring it to an end. But he lived to be seventy years of age, and during a good part of that later life he was, what Monck had called him earlier, 'the right hand of the navy.'[1] The fact is that Pepys will never be properly appreciated as long as the attention of his biographers is concentrated exclusively upon the *Diary*, for it is not there that the principal evidence of his greatness is to be found. What is remarkable about this career is not so much that a man should have written the *Diary*, as that the man who wrote the *Diary* should also have been the right hand of the navy. From the *Diary* we learn that Pepys was a musician, a dandy, a collector of books and prints, a man of science, an observer of boundless curiosity, and, as one of his critics has pointed out, one who possessed an 'amazing zest for life.' From the Pepysian manuscripts we learn that he was a man of sound judgment, of orderly business habits and methods, of great administrative capacity and energy ; and that he possessed extraordinary shrewdness and tact in dealing with men. It is the combination of these qualities that is little short of astounding, and if the bearing of the Pepysian papers on the personal character of Pepys is once realised, it will be impossible to belittle him any more.

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[1] Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, p. 160.

[2] Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, part ii. p. 153.

It is not surprising that a man of such vitality and variety of character—so observant, so experienced, and at the same time so absorbed in the navy, should have drawn the moral of the naval history of his own time. In his *Memoirs*[2] Pepys states the essential 'truths' of the 'sea œconomy' of England, which are as valid to-day as they were two centuries ago—'that integrity and general (but unpractised) knowledge are not alone sufficient to conduct and support a navy so, as to prevent its declension into a state little less unhappy than the worst that can befall it under the want of both;' 'that not much more (neither) is to be depended on, even from experience alone and integrity, unaccompanied with vigour of application, assiduity, affection, strictness of discipline, and method;' but that what is needed above all things is 'a strenuous conjunction of all these.' For himself he claims due credit, for 'it was a strenuous conjunction of all these (and that conjunction only)' that redeemed the navy in 1686; but the *non nobis* with which he concludes this passage is conceived in a spirit of reticent piety that would seem to be somewhat above the tone of his time—'and yet not such but that (even at its zenith) it both did and suffered sufficient to teach us that there is something above both that and us that governs the world.'

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[1] *Diary*, iv. 400 (24 April, 1665).

[2] Pp. 211–14.

An anonymous admirer[1] wrote of Pepys as 'the great treasurer of naval and maritime knowledge,' who was 'æquiponderous' to his colleagues 'in moral, and much superior in philosophical knowledge and the universal knowledge of the œconomy of the navy.' Modern eulogies are phrased more simply, but we may fairly claim for this great public servant that he did more than any one else under a king that 'did hate the very sight and thoughts of business' to apply business principles to naval administration.

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[1] *Letter to the Earl of Marlborough*, by T. H. (possibly Thomas Hayter).

A Register of the Ships of the Royal Navy of England from the Restoration of K. Charles 2nd, May 1660, to the day of K. James 2nd his withdrawing, and the determination of Mr. Pepys's relation thereto, December 18th, 1688.

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A List of the Royal Navy of England at the

Giving an account as well of the particular squadron then employed in whole, whether at sea or in harbour, as the same stood the June following; with then taken into the king's pay distinguished from the rest undertaken for (as to

Rate	Names		Burden in tons	Force in		The squadron attending the king in his passage over. General Mountagu, admiral
	Old	New		Men	Guns	
1st	Nazeby	*Charles Royall*	1229	500	80	*General Mountagu* Roger Cuttance
	Resolution	*Prince Royall*	1295	500	80	
	Soveraign		1554	600	100	
2d	Andrew		775	280	56	
	Dunbar	*Henry*	1047	340	64	
	George		775	280	56	
	James		792	300	60	
	London		1050	360	64	John Lawson
	Rainbow		782	280	56	
	Richard	*James Royall*	1108	400	70	John Stokes
	Triumph		779	300	64	
	Vanguard		786	280	56	
	Victory		690	280	56	
	Unicorn		723	280	56	
3d	Bridgwater	*Ann*	742	210	52	
	Essex		633	200	48	Tho. Bunn
	Fairfax		745	220	52	
	Gloucester		755	210	50	
	Lamport	*Henrietta*	781	210	50	John Coppin
	Lime	*Mountagu*	769	220	52	
	Lion		550	180	48	
	Marston-Moor	*York*	734	210	52	
	Monk		703	210	52	
	Newbury	*Revenge*	765	220	52	
	Plymouth		741	260	52	John Hayward
	Speaker	*Mary*	727	220	50	Robert Clark
	Swiftsure		740	300	60	Sr Richd Stayner
	Torrington	*Dreadnought*	738	210	52	
	Tradagh	*Resolution*	771	210	50	
	Worcester	*Dunkirk*	635	230	48	
4th	Adventure		385	120	34	
	Advice		516	140	40	
	Amity		354	100	30	
	Assistance		513	140	40	Tho. Sparling
	Assurance		341	115	32	
	Bear		430	110	36	
	Bristoll		534	160	44	

Restoration of K. Charles II, May 1660

fetching over his Majesty from Scheveling, as the names (old and new) of the their respective rates, burdens, and force in men and guns, and a note of the 36 their discharge, and the arrears of the whole) by the Parliament.

The list thereof under their reformed names	The state of the whole in June				
	At sea		In harbour		Taken into the king's pay
	Commanders	Stations	Come in to be paid off, commanded by	In ordinary	
Charles Royall	Rog^{r} Cuttance	Downes			
Prince Royall				*Prince Roy^{ll}*	
Soveraign				Soveraign	
Andrew				Andrew	
Henry				*Henry*	
George				George	
James, Old				James	
London	John Lawson	Downes			
Rainbow				Rainbow	
James Royall	John Stokes	Downes			
Triumph				Triumph	
Vanguard				Vanguard	
Victory				Victory	
Unicorn				Unicorn	
Ann				*Ann*	
Essex	Tho. Bunn	Downes			
Fairfax				Fairfax	
Gloucester				Gloucester	
Henrietta	John Coppin	Downes			
Mountagu				*Mountagu*	
Lion				Lion	
York				*York*	
Monk				Monk	
Revenge	Rob^{t} Blake	In the Streights			
Plymouth	John Hayward	Downs			✓
Mary	Robert Clark	Downs			
Swiftsure	S^{r} Rich^{d} Stayner	Downs			
Dreadnought			John Harman		
Resolution	Tho. Tiddiman	Streights-mouth			
Dunkirk			Ant^{o} Erning		
Adventure	Valent^{ne} Tatnell	Between S^{t} Albans & the Start			
Advice	Fran. Allin	In the Streights.			
Amity				Amity	
Assistance	Tho. Sparling	Downs			
Assurance				Assurance	
Bear	John Willgress	Jamaica			✓
Bristoll	Hen. Fenn	Downs			

A List of the Royal Navy of England at the

Rate	Names		Burden in tons	Force in		The squadron attending the king in his passage over. General Mountagu, admiral
	Old	New		Men	Guns	
4th	Centurion		533	150	40	Fran. Park
	Charity		400	110	38	
	Constant Warwick		315	115	32	
	Convertine		500	140	40	
	Diamond		547	140	40	
	Dover		511	140	40	
	Dragon		414	130	38	
	Elias		400	110	36	Mark Harrison
	Elizabeth		471	130	38	
	Expedition		323	100	30	
	Foresight		513	140	40	Peter Mootham
	Gainsborough	*Swallow*	543	150	40	
	Guinny		375	100	30	
	Hampshire		481	130	38	Henry Tearne
	Jersey		560	140	40	
	Indian		500	150	40	
	Kent		601	150	40	
	Leopard		666	160	44	
	Maidstone	*Mary-Rose*	566	140	40	
	Marmaduke		400	110	32	
	Matthias		400	140	40	
	Namptwich	*Bredah*	515	140	40	
	Newcastle		633	160	44	
	Nonsuch		389	120	34	John Parker
	Phœnix		414	130	38	
	Portland		607	150	40	
	Portsmouth		433	130	38	Robert Sansum
	President	*Bonadventure*	462	130	38	
	Preston	*Anthelope*	550	140	40	
	Princesse		400	100	34	
	Reserve		512	140	40	
	Ruby		550	140	40	
	Saphire		442	130	38	
	Taunton	*Crowne*	536	140	40	
	Tiger		447	130	38	
	Welcome		400	120	36	
	Winsby	*Happy Return*	607	160	44	Joseph Ames
	Yarmouth		608	160	44	Charles Wager
5th	Augustine		300	90	26	
	Basing	*Guernsey*	255	100	22	
	Bradford	*Success*	230	100	24	Peter Bowen
	Bryer		180	85	18	
	Cherriton	*Speedwell*	200	90	20	Henry Cuttance
	Church		194	65	20	

Restoration of K. Charles II—*continued*

The list thereof under their reformed names	The state of the whole in June				
	At sea		In harbour		Taken into the king's pay
	Commanders	Stations	Come in to be paid off, commanded by	In ordinary	
Centurion	Fran. Park	Downs			
Charity				Charity	
Const^{nt} Warw^{ck}	Rob^{t} Vessey	Plymouth			
Convertine	Tho. Wilks	Jamaica			
Diamond				Diamond	
Dover	Rob^{t} Martin	Hamburgh			✓
Dragon			Ric^{d} Haddock		
Elias			Mark Harrison		
Elizabeth	Jn^{o} Grimsditch	In the Streights			
Expedition				Expedition	
Foresight	Pet^{r} Mootham	Downs			
Swallow	Nich^{s} Heaton	To the westward & Channel-mouth			
Guinny				Guinny	
Hampshire	Hen. Tearne	To Portugall			
Jersey	Jn^{o} Simonds	In the Streights			
Indian				Indian	
Kent	Willoughby Hanham	Downs			
Leopard	Jonas Poole	In the Streights			
Mary-Rose	Tho. Pomeroy	Gravesend			
Marmaduke			Peter Butler		
Matthias				Matthias	
Bredah	Bernard Gilpin	Streights-mouth			
Newcastle	Edm^{d} Curtis	Streights-mouth			
Nonsuch	John Parker	Downs			
Phœnix			Edw^{d} Nixon		
Portland			No commander		
Portsmouth	Rob^{t} Sansum	North Coast			
Bonadventure			Richard Potter		
Anthelope	Jn^{o} Robinson	In the Streights			
Princesse			No commander		✓
Reserve	Rob^{t} Plumley	Newfoundland Fishery			
Ruby			Rob^{t} Kirby		
Saphire	Robert Clay	To the westward & Channel-mouth			
Crowne			Nathan^{l} Browne		
Tiger			Gabr^{l} Sanders		
Welcome				Welcome	
Happy Return	Joseph Ames	Convoy to the Sound			
Yarmouth	Rob^{t} Mackey	Downes			
Augustine				Augustine	
Guernsey	Rich^{d} Hodges	North Coast			✓
Success	Peter Bowen	Scotch Coast			
Bryer	Ant^{o} Rively	Between Yarmouth Road & the Maes			
Speedwell	John Parker	Between the Wight, Weymouth & S^{t} Malos			✓
Church				Church	

A List of the Royal Navy of England at the

Rate	Names		Burden in tons	Force in		The squadron attending the king in his passage over. General Mountagu, admiral
	Old	New		Men	Guns	
5th	Colchester		287	100	24	
	Convert		250	90	26	
	Coventry		200	90	20	
	Dartmouth		230	100	22	Richard Rooth
	Fagons	*Milford*	262	105	22	
	Fame		200	85	20	
	Forester		230	100	22	
	Grantham	*Guardland.*	265	100	22	
	Great Guift		300	85	26	
	Half-moon		300	90	26	
	Hector		150	85	20	
	Hound		206	50	16	
	Litchfield	*Happy Entrance*	200	90	20	
	Lizard		100	60	16	
	Mermaid		287	100	22	
	Nightingale		300	100	22	
	Norwich		258	100	22	Michael Nutton
	Oxford		240	95	22	
	Paul		240	85	22	
	Pearl		285	100	22	
	Pembroke		210	100	22	
	Providence		323	100	30	
	Rosebush		300	90	24	
	Satisfaction		220	100	26	
	Selby	*Eagle*	299	100	22	
	Sophia		300	85	26	
	Sorlings		250	100	22	
	Success		380	100	34	
	Wakefield	*Richmond*	235	100	22	John Pointz.
	Wester-gate		300	85	26	
	Wexford	*Dolphin*	130	75	14	
6th	Bramble		120	60	14	
	Cornelion		100	50	12	
	Cygnet		60	35	6	
	Drake		146	60	12	
	Fox		120	60	14	
	Francis		90	45	10	William Dale
	Greyhound		150	85	20	Jeremy Country
	Griffin		90	40	12	
	Guift		120	60	12	
	Harp		75	25	8	
	Hart		60	60	6	
	Henrietta pinnace		65	25	6	

Restoration of K. Charles II—*continued*

The state of the whole in June

The list thereof under their reformed names	**At sea**		**In harbour**		**Taken into the king's pay**
	Commanders	**Stations**	**Come in to be paid off, commanded by**	**In ordinary**	
Colchester	Sam^{l} Blake	Coast of Ireland			
Convert			Rowland Bevans		
Coventry	John Aylett	Jamaica			
Dartmouth	Rich^{d} Rooth	Downes			✓
Milford	Nich^{s} Parker	To the westward & Channel-mouth			
Fame	Tho. Wright	Between Yarmouth Road & the Maes			
Forester	Ant^{o} Archer	North Coast			
Guardland	John Abelson	North Coast			
Great Guift	Jeffrey Dare	North Sea Fishery			
Half-Moon				Half-moon	
Hector			Rob^{t} Haytubb		
Hound			No commander		
Happy Entrance	W^{m} Barker	Coast of Ireland			
Lizard	Ric^{d} Ducy	Betw^{n} the Severn-mouth & Lundy			
Mermaid	Peter Foot	Downes			
Nightingale			Jn^{o} Lightfoot		
Norwich	Michael Nutton	North Coast			
Oxford			John Cuttle		
Paul	Rob^{t} Wyard	Iseland Fishery			✓
Pearl				Pearl	
Pembroke	John Grove	Scotch Coast			✓
Providence	Giles Shelly	Scotch Coast			
Rosebush	Seth Hawley	Iseland Fishery			
Satisfaction	Rob^{t} Wilkinson	Newfoundland Fishery			
Eagle	Sam^{l} Higginson	Convoy to the Sound			
Sophia				Sophia	
Sorlings	Tho. Morris	To Jersey with money			
Success, Old	Tho. Fleet	To S^{t} Helena			✓
Richmond	John Pointz	Downes			
Wester-gate				Wester-gate	
Dolphin	Valent^{ne} Jowles	Coast of Ireland			✓
Bramble				Bramble	
Cornelion				Cornelion	
Cygnet	John Beer	On the mackerel Fishery			✓
Drake			John Bowry		✓
Fox	Sam^{l} Sherland	Coast of Ireland			✓
Francis	Andrew Smith	Downes			✓
Greyhound	Jeremy Country	Scotch Coast			
Griffin	John Taylor	To the westward & Channel-mouth			
Guift	Hugh Middleton	Coast of Ireland			✓
Harp		Between Chester & Dublin			✓
Hart			Rich^{d} Street		✓
Henrietta pinnace	Benjam^{n} Firmase	Guard of the Medway			✓

A List of the Royal Navy of England at the

Rate	Names		Burden in tons	Force in		The squadron attending the king in his passage over. General Mountagu, admiral
	Old	New		Men	Guns	
6th	Hunter		50	30	6	
	Kinsale		90	35	10	
	Lark		80	40	10	Thomas Large
	Lilly		60	35	6	John Pierce
	Martin		127	50	12	Wm Burroughs
	Mary prize		120	50	12	
	Merlin		130	60	12	Edward Grove
	Paradox		120	60	12	
	True-Love		100	60	12	
	Vultur		100	50	12	
	Wolfe		120	60	16	
	Hoys					
	Marigold		33	3		
	Hulks					
	Eagle		894	2		
	Elias		350	2		
	Estrich		811	2		
	Fellowship		395	2		
	Gallion		570	2		
	Stork		397	2		
	Violett		409	2		
	Ketches					
	Eaglett		60	35	8	
	Hawk		60	35	8	Andrew Ashford
	Hind		60	35	6	Richd Country
	Nonsuch		60	35	8	
	Roe		60	35	8	Tho. Bowry
	Pinks					
	Blackmore		90	40	12	
	Chessnut		90	40	10	
	Rose		60	35	6	
	Sparrow		60	50	12	
	Swallow		60	35	6	
	Weymouth		120	60	14	
	Sloops					
	Dunkirk		33	5	2	
	Yachts					
	Minion		22	4	2	

Restoration of K. Charles II—*continued*

The list thereof under their reformed names	The state of the whole in June				
	At sea		In harbour		Taken into the king's pay
	Commanders	Stations	Come in to be paid off, commanded by	In ordinary	
Hunter	Robert Duck	Thames-mouth			✓
Kinsale				Kinsale	
Lark	Thomas Large	Between Yarmouth & Orford-ness			✓
Lilly	John Pierce	Downes			✓
Martin	W^{m} Burroughs	Downes			✓
Mary prize	Edmund Curle	Lyn-Deep			✓
Merlin	Edward Grove	Lyn-Deep			✓
Paradox	Rich^{d} Cowes	Between the Severn-mouth & Lundy			✓
True-Love	Benjam^{n} Firmase	Guard of the Medway			✓
Vultur				Vultur	
Wolfe	John Jeakin	To the westward & Channel-mouth			
Hoys					
Marigold				Marigold	
Hulks					
Eagle				Eagle	✓
Elias				Elias	
Estrich				Estrich	
Fellowship				Fellowship	
Gallion				Gallion	
Stork				Stork	
Violett				Violett	
Ketches					
Eaglett	Godfrey Reader	Lyn-Deep			✓
Hawke	Andrew Ashford	Downes			✓
Hind	Rich^{d} Country	Downes			✓
Nonsuch	Jonath^{n} Waltham	Between S^{t} Albans & the Start			✓
Roe	Tho. Bowry	Downes			✓
Pinks					
Blackmore	Tobias Sackler	On the mackerel Fishery			✓
Chessnut	Rob^{t} Poory	Jamaica			
Rose				Rose	
Sparrow				Sparrow	
Swallow			Rich^{d} Pittock		
Weymouth	Henry Land	Downes			✓
Sloops					
Dunkirk				Dunkirk	
Yachts					
Minion				Minion	

An Abstract of the foregoing List of the Royal Navy of England at the king's Restoration, 1660.

—	Rate	No.
Ships of war, viz. of the	1	3
	2	11
	3	16
	4	45
	5	37
	6	23
Hoys		1
Hulks		7
Ketches		5
Pinks		6
Sloops		1
Yachts		1
Total		156

Note

That his Majesty with his royal brothers did in their way from Scheveling take their several passages upon the ships following :—

1. The *King*, upon the *Nazeby*; General Mountagu, admiral, and myself, secretary.

2. The *Duke of York*, upon the *London*; Captain Lawson, commander, Sir William Coventry, secretary.

3. The *Duke of Gloucester*, upon the *Richard*; Captain Stokes, commander.

Note also

That I find the navy then possessed of five ships and vessels not mentioned in the foregoing list, as being by their age and other defects held not worthy the charge of repair, and therefore were left to be broken up where they lay, viz. :

Rate	—	Tons	Men	Guns
5	Old Warwick	140	80	22
6	Cagway	60	40	8 } at Jamaica
6	Dolphin	50	25	4 } at Jamaica
6	Pearl brigantine	50	25	4 } at Jamaica
6	Diver smack	24	3	0

There were also at the same time found in the service two hired ketches, viz.:

The { John, of Dover . . . . 8 men,
John, of Colchester . . . . 30 „

The former whereof was continued in the king's pay as one of the 36.

A Table of the Difference of Entry (as to rate or name) under which any ship or vessel stands registered in the preceding List of May 1660 (the time of the king's Restoration) and the following general one since 1660; for the readier reconciling the seeming disagreements therein.

List of May 1660		General List since 1660	
Rate	Name	Rate	Name
1	Nazeby	1	*Royall Charles*
1	Resolution	1	*Royall Prince*
2	Dunbar	2	*Henry*
2	James	2	Old James
2	Richard	1	*Royall James*
3	Bridgwater	3	*Ann*
3	Lamport	3	*Henrietta*
3	Lime	3	*Mountagu*
3	Marston-Moor	3	*York*
3	Newbury	3	*Revenge*
3	Speaker	3	*Mary*
3	Swiftsure	2	Swiftsure
3	Torrington	3	*Dreadnought*
3	Tradagh	3	*Resolution*
3	Worcester	3	*Dunkirk*
4	Gainsborough	4	*Swallow*
4	Maidstone	4	*Mary-Rose*
4	Namptwich	4	*Bredah*
4	President	4	*Bonadventure*
4	Preston	4	*Anthelope*
4	Taunton	4	*Crowne*
4	Winsby	4	*Happy Return*
5	Basing	5	*Guernsey*
5	Bradford	5	*Success*
5	Cherriton	5	*Speedwell*
5	Fagons	5	*Milford*
5	Grantham	5	*Guardland*
5	Lichfield	5	*Happy Entrance*
5	Providence	4	Providence
5	Selby	5	*Eagle*
5	Success	5	Old Success
5	Wakefield	5	*Richmond*
5	Wexford	5	*Dolphin*
6	Francis	6	Old Francis
6	Greyhound	5	Greyhound

The rates, kinds, names, originals, dimensions, burdens, and force in
from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686, the day whereon the king's
of the said navy took place. Together with the different exits of
said 25 March, 1686.

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
1st	*Andrew, St.*	Woolwich	Mr. Edw. Byland	—	—	1670	128	0	44	0
	Britannia	Chatham	Sir Phineas Pett	—	—	1682	146	0	47	4
	Charles	Woolwich	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1655	131	0	42	6
	Charles	Deptford	Jonas Shish	—	—	1667	128	0	42	6
	Charles Royal	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1673	136	0	44 46	8 0
	James Royal	Woolwich	Christopher Pett	—	—	1658	124	0	41	0
	James Royal	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1671	136	0	45	0
	James Royal	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1675	132	0	45	0
	London	Deptford	Jonas Shish	—	—	1670	129	0	44	0
	Michael, St.	—	—	—	From a 2nd rate	1671–2	125	0	40	8½
	Prince	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1670	131	0	44 45	9 10
	Prince Royal	Woolwich	Old Commissioner Pett	—	—	1610	132	0	45	2
		Chatham	Captain Peter Pett	—	—	1641				
			Sir Phineas Pett	—	—	1663				
	Soveraign Royall	Woolwich	Captain Peter Pett	—	—	1637	131	0	48	0
		Chatham	Captain Taylor	—	—	1659				
		Chatham	Mr. Lee	—	—	1685				
2nd	*Albemarle*	Harwich	Mr. Isaac Betts	—	—	1680	140	11	44	4
	Andrew, St.	Deptford	Mr. Burrill	—	—	1622	116	0	38	0
	Coronation	Portsmouth	Mr. Isaac Betts	—	—	1685	140	0	44	9
	Duke	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	—	—	1682	142	6	45	2
	Dutchesse	Deptford	Mr. John Shish	—	—	1679	143	0	45	8
	French Ruby	—	—	—	From a 3rd rate	1672	112	0	38	2
	George, St.	Deptford	Mr. Burrill	—	—	1622	116	0	38	0
	Henry	Deptford	Mr. Callis	—	—	1656	124	0	40	6
	Katherine Royall	Woolwich	Christopher Pett	—	—	1664	124	0	39 41	8 0
	London	Chatham	Captain Taylor	—	—	1657	123	6	41	0
	London Loyall	Deptford	Captain Taylor	—	Given by the City of London	1666	127	0	41	9½

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[1] The number of men and guns borne by the ships of the royal navy appears to have varied from
and 56 guns in 1653, 300 men and 58 guns in 1666, and in 1671 her full complement is returned as 360 men. The
46 guns in 1666, and in 1671 her full complement was 220 men. (See Pepysian MSS., *Miscellanies*, v. 583,
men was considerably less than the war establishment, and as a rule it was larger for 'war at home' than

men and guns of every ship and vessel of the Royal Navy of England commission to Sir Anthony Deane and others for the general repair, &c. such of the said ships and vessels as were remaining therein upon the

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Men[1]			Guns[1]				
			Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
17 9	21 6	1,338	510	620	730	86	86	96	—	—
19 7½	20 0	1,739	560	670	780	90	90	100	—	—
18 0	21 6	1,258	400	500	650	76	76	86	Carried by the Dutch from Chatham	1667
18 6	21 0	1,229	500	605	710	86	86	96	—	—
18 3 Girdled	20 6 —	1,443 1,531	560	670	780	90	90	100	—	—
18 0	21 0	1,108	350	460	550	72	72	80	Burnt by the Dutch at Chatham, 13 June	1667
18 5	20 6	1,465	600	700	800	90	90	102	Burnt in fight, 18 [28] May	1672
18 4	20 6	1,422	560	670	780	90	90	100	—	—
19 0	20 6	1,328	510	620	730	86	86	96	—	—
17 5	19 8	1,101	430	520	600	80	80	90	—	—
19 0 Girdled	21 6 —	1,395 1,463	560	670	780	90	90	100	—	—
18 10	22 0	1,432	500	550	600	90	90	100	Lost on the Galloper by Sir George Ascue, 3 June	1666
19 2	23 6	1,605	605	710	815	90	90	100	—	—
19 7½	21 0	1,395	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
15 0	18 0	891	260	280	360	58	58	66	Broke up at Rye, being disabled on the Rippraps 1666, and her wreck delivered to the officers of the ordnance	1666
18 2	16 4	1,427	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
18 9	20 6	1,546	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
18 4	20 6	1,546	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
16 6	18 6	868	350	435	520	72	72	80	Converted into a hulk	1686
14 10	18 0	891	310	385	460	62	62	70	—	—
17 0	20 6	1,082	350	440	530	72	72	82	Burnt by accident at Chatham, 16 May	1682
17 2 Girdled	20 0 —	1,037 1,108	360	450	540	74	74	82	—	—
16 6	18 0	1,104	280	360	450	68	68	76	Blown up by accident near Lee, 7 March	1664
17 0	19 0	1,236	300	380	470	82	82	96	Burnt by the Dutch at Chatham, 13 June	1667

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time to time. Thus the Mary, a third-rate built at Woolwich by Christopher Pett in 1649, carried 300 men Ruby, a fourth-rate, built at Deptford in 1651 by Peter Pett, carried 180 men and 42 guns in 1653, 170 men and where materials are to be found for comparing the establishments at different dates.) The peace establishment of 'war abroad.'

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
2nd	Michael, St.	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1669	125	0	40	8½
	Neptune	Deptford	Mr. John Shish	—	—	1683	139	0	45	0
	Oake Royall	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1664	121	0	39	10
	Old James	Deptford	Peter Pett, senr.	—	—	1633	110	0	39	0
	Ossory	Portsmouth	Mr. Daniel Furzer	—	—	1682	139	7	44	6
	Rainbow	Deptford	Mr. Bright	—	—	1617	114	0	37	10
	Sandwich	Harwich	Mr. Isaac Betts	—	—	1679	132	6	44	6
	Swiftsure	Deptford Woolwich	Mr. Burrill Mr. Christopher Pett	— —	— —	1621 1654	118	0	37	10
	Tryumph	Deptford	Mr. Burrill	—	—	1623	116	0	38	0
	Vantguard	Chatham	Mr. Bright	—	—	1630	112	0	38	0
	Vantguard	Portsmouth	Mr. Daniel Furzer	—	—	1678	142	6	44	0
	Victory	Deptford Chatham	Mr. Burrill Mr. Phineas Pett	— —	— —	1620 1665	108 121	0 0	37 40	6 0
	Unicorne	Woolwich	Mr. Boate	—	—	1633	110	0	37	6
	Windsor Castle	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	—	—	1678	142	0	44	0
3rd	Anne	Deptford	Mr. Chamberlaine	—	—	165¾	116	9	34	7
	Anne	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1678	128	0	40	0
	Armes of Rotterdam	—	—	Dutch E. India	—	1673	119	0	39	6
	Berwick	Chatham	Sir Phineas Pett	—	—	1679	128	0	40	0
	Bredah	Harwich	Mr. Isaac Betts	—	—	1679	124	6	39	10
	Burford	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	—	—	1679	140	0	40	10½
	Cambridge	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1666	121	0	37	10
	Captaine	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	—	—	1678	138	0	39	10
	Defyance	Deptford	Captain William Castle	—	—	166⅚	117	0	37	3
	Defyance	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1675	117	0	37	10
	Dreadnought	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	165¾	116	0	34	6
	Dunkirk	Woolwich	Mr. Burrill	—	—	1651	112	0	33	4
	Eagle	Portsmouth	Mr. Daniel Furzer	—	—	$167\frac{8}{9}$	120	0	40	6
	Edgar	Bristol	Mr. Francis Bayly	—	—	1668	124	0	39	8
	Elizabeth	Deptford	Captain Castle	—	—	1679	137	6	40	11½
	Essex	Deptford	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	165¾	118	0	32	3
	Essex	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	1679	134	0	40	0
	Exeter	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	1680	137	6	40	4
	Expedition	Portsmouth	Mr. Daniel Furzer	—	—	1679	120	0	40	9
	Fairfax	Deptford	Mr. Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1649	118	0	34 36	9 0
	French Ruby	—	—	French	—	1666	112	0	38	2
	Gloucester	Lyme House	Mr. Graves	—	—	165¾	117	0	34	10
	Golden Phœnix	—	—	Dutch E. India	—	1665	113	0	36	0
	Grafton	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	—	—	1679	139	0	40	5
	Hampton Court	Deptford	Mr. John Shish	—	—	1678	131	0	39	10
	Harwich	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1674	123	9	38	10
	Helverston	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	103	0	33	0
	Henrietta	Horsely Downs	Mr. Bright	—	—	165¾	116	0	35	7

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions				Burden	Force						Exits	When
					Men			Guns				
Depth in hold		Draught of water			Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
						Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Tons								
17	5	19	8	1,101	370	460	550	82	82	98	Made a first-rate	167½
18	6	21	0	1,497	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
17	1½	19	6	1,021	280	360	450	62	62	76	Burnt by the Dutch at Chatham 13 June	1667
16	0	17	6	888	260	300	380	62	62	70	Made a third-rate	1677
18	2	20	0	1,415	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
15	0	17	6	868	270	335	410	54	54	64	Ordered to be sunk at Sheernesse, 20 March	16$\frac{79}{80}$
18	3	20	0	1,395	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
16	0	17	6	898	260	300	380	54	54	64	Taken by the Dutch, 2 June	1666
15	6	18	0	891	310	385	460	62	62	70	—	—
14	0	17	0	860	240	280	320	52	52	60	Sunk adrift at Chatham in June 1667, and her wreck sold 7 February	1667
18	5	20	6	1,482	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
16	6	18	6	807	350	440	530	72	72	82	—	—
17	0	19	0	1,029								
15	1	17	4	823	270	335	410	54	54	64	—	—
18	3	20	0	1,462	500	580	660	82	82	90	—	—
14	2	17	0	743	180	210	340	50	50	58	Blown up by accident at Sheernesse, 2 December	1673
17	0	18	0	1,089	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
18	9	18	6	987	200	250	400	50	50	60	Made a hulk at Chatham	1675
17	0	17	0	1,089	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
16	9	18	0	1,055	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
17	3	18	0	1,174	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
16	4	17	6	881	270	345	420	60	60	70	—	—
17	2	18	0	1,164	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
15	3	17	6	863	165	200	320	54	54	66	Burnt by accident at Chatham, 6 December	1668
15	10	17	6	890	245	310	390	56	56	64	—	—
14	2	16	6	732	215	280	355	54	54	62	—	—
14	0	17	0	662	210	270	340	52	52	60	—	—
17	0	18	0	1,047	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
16	0	18	4	994	290	370	445	62	62	72	—	—
16	8½	18	0	1,108	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
14	0	17	0	652	160	200	260	48	48	60	Taken by the Dutch, 2 June	1666
16	9½	18	0	1,072	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
16	9	18	0	1,070	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
17	0	18	0	1,059	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
14	4	17	6	756	190	220	340	54	54	60	Run aground near Grayes, thereby cast and broke up at Woolwich	1674
Girdled		—		813								
16	6	18	6	868	200	250	460	70	70	80	Made a second rate	1672
14	6	17	6	755	210	270	340	52	52	62	Lost on the Lemon, 6 May	1682
16	6	17	6	779	200	230	260	54	54	60	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Woolwich against the Dutch in June	1667
17	2	18	0	1,174	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
17	0	18	6	1,105	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
15	8	17	6	993	270	345	420	60	60	70	—	—
12	8	15	0	597	200	230	260	54	54	60	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, in June	1667
14	4	17	0	781	215	280	355	54	54	62	—	—

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
3rd	*Hope*	Deptford	Captain Castle	—	—	1678	124	5	40	0
	House de Swyte	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	111	0	36	6
	Kent	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	1679	134	10	40	2
	Lenox	Deptford	Mr. John Shish	—	—	1678	131	0	39	8
	Lyon	Chatham ,,	Mr. Apsley Captain Taylor	—	—	1640 1658	108	0	35	4
	Mary	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1649	116	0	34 35	4 6
	Monke	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1659	108	0	35	0
	Monmouth	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	166$\frac{8}{7}$	118	9	36	10
	Mountagu	P'rtsm'th Chatham	Sir John Tippetts Phineas Pett	—	—	1654 1675	117	0	35 36	2 6
	Northumberland	Bristol	Mr. Francis Bayly	—	—	1679	137	0	40	4
	Oake Royall	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1674	125	0	40	6
	Old James	—	—	—	From a 2nd rate	1677	110	0	39	0
	Pendenis	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1679	136	9	40	1
	Plymouth	Wapping	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	1653	116	0	34	8
	Resolution	Ratclif	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1654	117	3	35	2
	Resolution	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1667	120	6	37	2
	Restauration	Harwich	Mr. Isaac Betts	—	—	1678	123	6	39	8
	Revenge	Limehouse	Mr. Graves	—	—	1654	117	6	35	0
	Rupert	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	166$\frac{5}{6}$	119	0	36	3
	Slothany	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	112	0	36	0
	Sterling Castle	Deptford	Mr. John Shish	—	—	1679	133	11	40	4
	Suffolk	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	1680	138	0	40	6
	Swiftsure	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1673	123	0	38	8
	Warspite	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	1666	118	0	38	9
	Yorke	Blackwall	Mr. Henry Johnson	—	—	1654	115	0	35	0
4th	*Adventure*	Woolwich	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1646	94	0	27 28	0 0
	Advice	Woodbridge	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1650	100	0	31 32	2 0
	Amity	—	—	—	Bought	1649	90	0	28	0
	Anthelope	Woodbridge	Mr. Carey	—	—	1653	101	0	31	0
	Armes of Terver	—	—	Dutch	—	1673	96	0	32	0
	Assistance	Deptford	Mr. Johnson	—	—	1650	102	0	32	0
	Assurance	Deptford	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1646	89	0	26	10
	Beare	—	—	Dutch	—	165$\frac{2}{3}$	106	0	26	6
	Black Bull	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	103	0	30	0
	Black spred Eagle	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	86	0	28	4
	Bonadventure	Deptford Chatham	Peter Pett, sen. Mr. Phineas Pett	— —	— —	1649 1663	102	9	29 30	6 8
	Bredah	Bristol	Mr. Francis Bayly	—	—	1654	100	0	31	0
	Bristol	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1653	104	0	31	1
	Centurion	Ratcliff	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1650	104	0	31	0
	Charity	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	106	0	28	4
	Charles galley	Woolwich	Phineas Pett	—	—	1676	114	0	28	6
	Charles the fifth	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	102	0	32	0
	Clove Tree	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	103	0	33	0

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Men			Guns				
			Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
16 9	18 6	1,058	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
16 3	17 6	786	170	200	280	60	60	70	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Woolwich, June	1667
16 9½	18 0	1,067	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
17 0	18 0	1,096	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
15 6	17 6	717	210	270	340	52	52	60	—	—
14 6 Girdled	17 0 —	727 777	215	280	355	54	54	62	—	—
13 11	16 0	703	210	270	340	52	52	60	—	—
15 6	18 0	856	255	320	400	58	58	66	—	—
15 0 Widened	17 4 —	746 829	215	280	355	54	54	62	—	—
17 0	18 0	1,050	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
18 3	18 8	1,107	310	390	470	64	64	74	—	—
16 0	17 6	888	300	380	460	62	62	70	Sold as useless, 16 February	1682
17 0	17 0	1,093	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
14 6	17 0	742	210	270	340	52	52	60	—	—
14 5	18 0	771	180	210	290	58	58	66	Burnt by the Dutch, 25 July	1666
15 6	17 0	885	270	345	420	60	60	70	—	—
17 0	18 0	1,032	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
14 5	18 0	766	215	280	355	54	54	62	Cast as unserviceable	1678
15 6	17 0	832	255	320	400	58	58	66	—	—
16 10	18 0	772	170	220	280	54	54	60	Made a hulk at Portsmouth, December	1667
17 3	18 0	1,114	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
16 9½	18 0	1,066	300	380	460	62	62	70	—	—
15 6	17 6	978	270	345	420	60	60	70	—	—
15 6	17 6	942	270	345	420	60	60	70	—	—
14 2	16 6	749	210	270	340	52	52	60	—	—
12 0 Broad'n'd	14 0 —	385 392	120	160	190	38	38	44	—	—
12 3 Broad'n'd	15 0 —	516 544	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
12 0	15 0	375	100	120	150	36	36	38	Sold 27 November	1667
13 0	16 0	516	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
11 9	16 0	523	120	160	200	44	44	52	Given Sir Jeremy Smith in June	1674
13 0	15 6	555	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
11 0	13 6	340	115	150	180	36	36	42	—	—
12 0	11 6	398	80	120	170	34	34	42	Cast for her age at Woolwich, and given to the officers of the ordnance	1665
13 6	14 0	480	100	130	160	30	30	36	Retaken 4 June	1666
12 0	13 0	367	110	140	180	36	36	44	Lost in fight 2 June	1666
12 4 Widened	15 6 —	475 514	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
12 8	15 6	511	110	140	180	36	36	46	Cast away on the coast of Holland, 15 August	1666
13 0	15 8	534	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
13 0	16 0	531	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
11 0	14 0	453	100	130	170	36	36	46	Retaken 3 June	1665
8 7	12 0	492	220	220	220	32	32	32	—	—
14 0	16 0	600	120	160	200	44	44	52	Burnt lying as a guard-ship at Chatham by the Dutch, 12 June	1667
12 8	14 0	700	170	220	250	48	48	62	Retaken by the Dutch, 4 June	1666

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
4th	*Constant Warwick*	Ratcliff	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1646	88	0	27	0
		Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1666	90	0	28	2
	Convertine	—	—	Portugal	—	1649	103	0	30	0
	Crowne	Rederiff	Mr. Castle	—	—	$165\frac{3}{4}$	100	0	31	7
	David, St.	Conpill	Daniel Furzer	—	—	$166\frac{6}{7}$	107	0	34	9
	Delfe	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	94	0	24	0
	Diamond	Deptford	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1651	105	6	31	3
	Dover	Shoreham	Capt. Wm. Castle	—	—	1654	100	0	31	8
	Dragon	Chatham	Mr. Goddard	—	—	1647	96	0	30	0
	Elias	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	101	0	27	6
	Elizabeth	Deptford	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1647	101	6	29	8
	Expedition	St. Savior's Dock	Mr. Franckmore	—	—	1637	90	0	27	4
	Falcon	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1668	83	0	27	4
	Foresight	Deptford	Jonas Shish	—	—	1650	102	0	31	1
	Golden Horse	—	—	Argier	—	1681	102	0	36	8
	Golden Lyon	—	—	Dutch	—	$166\frac{4}{5}$	101	4	28	6
	Greenwich	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1666	108	0	33	9
	Guilder de Ruiter	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	105	0	35	0
	Guinny	—	—	King's	—	1649	90	0	28	0
	Halfe Moon	—	—	Argier	—	1682	113	1	34	1
	Hampshire	Deptford	Phineas Pett	—	—	1653	101	9	29	9
	Happy Returne	Yarmouth	Mr. Edgarr	—	—	1654	104	0	33	2
	Hope	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	103	0	30	0
	James galley	Blackwall	Anthony Deane, jr.	—	—	1676	104	0	28	1
	Jerzey	Maudlin	Mr. Starling	—	—	1654	102	0	32	0
	Indian	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	114	0	33	8
	Kent	Deptford	Mr. Johnson	—	—	1652	104	0	32	6
	Kingfisher	Woodbridge	Phineas Pett	—	—	1675	110	0	33	8
	Leopard	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	$165\frac{8}{9}$	109	0	33	9
	Margaret galley	Arsenal at Pisa	Beneditto Carlini	—	—	1671	from poop 153 to prow	0	—	
	Maria Sancta	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	106	0	26	6
	Marmaduke	—	—	Run from Pr. Rupert	—	1649	87	0	31	5
	Mars	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	106	0	26	6
	Marygold	—	—	Algier	—	1677	100	0	30	6
	Maryrose	Woodbridge	Mr. Monday	—	—	$165\frac{3}{4}$	102	0	32	0
	Mathias	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	108	0	32	0
	Mordaunt	—	—	—	Bought of Lord Mord^{t}	1683	101	9	32	4½
	Newcastle	Ratcliff	Phineas Pett	—	—	1653	108	0	33	1
	Nonsuch	Deptford	Peter Pett	—	—	1646	98	0	27	6
	Nonsuch	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1669	83	3	27	8

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
			Men			Guns				
				War			War			
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Peace every-where	Abroad	At home	Peace every-where	Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
12 0	12 8	342	115	150	180	36	36	42	—	—
12 0	12 8	379								
13 6	14 0	493	110	140	190	44	44	54	Taken by the Dutch, 2 June	1666
13 0	16 0	535	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
14 8	16 8	685	185	240	280	46	46	54	—	—
9 2	12 4	288	100	120	160	42	42	48	Sold as useless, 22 May	1668
13 0	16 0	548	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
13 0	16 0	530	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
12 0	15 0	470	140	185	220	40	40	46	—	—
11 6	14 6	406	80	110	130	30	30	36	Cast away coming from New England, 19 October	1664
12 0	15 0	476	100	130	160	32	32	40	Burnt by the Dutch at Virginia, 5 June	1667
11 0	13 6	357	90	100	140	34	34	40	Made a fire-ship in June	1667
12 0	13 0	349	115	150	180	36	36	42	—	—
12 9	14 6	522	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
14 10	14 9	722	150	200	230	40	40	46	—	—
13 0	15 0	430	100	130	170	34	34	42	Given the Guinny Company, 11 January	$166\frac{7}{8}$
14 6	15 0	654	185	240	280	46	46	54	—	—
15 0	16 0	684	110	140	180	42	42	50	Sold, 7 February	1667
11 4	15 0	375	100	120	150	32	32	38	Sold, 27 November	1667
13 4	14 0	556	120	160	190	38	38	44	Burnt at Chatham, 28 September	1686
13 0	14 5	479	140	185	220	40	40	46	—	—
13 0	17 0	609	185	240	280	46	46	54	—	—
13 6	14 0	480	100	130	170	36	36	44	Cast away at Barbadoes	1666
10 2	12 0	436	200	200	200	30	30	30	—	—
13 1	15 6	556	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
14 0	17 0	687	110	140	180	50	50	60	Sold, 6 November	1660
13 6	16 0	584	110	140	180	36	36	46	Cast away on the Lemon and Urry off of Winterton Nesse, 15 October	1672
13 0	13 0	663	140	185	220	40	40	46	—	—
15 0	17 3	645	185	240	280	46	46	54	Sent for a hulk to Gibraltarr	1686
—	—	—	460	460	460	—	—	—	Given to Colonel Legg and others	1677
12 2	14 0	400	110	140	180	42	42	50	Burnt at Chatham by the Dutch, June	1667
15 2	15 0	457	100	120	160	34	34	42	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, June	1667
12 2	14 0	396	110	140	180	42	42	50	Sold, March	$166\frac{6}{7}$
12 6	14 0	495	120	160	190	38	38	44	Driven with others by a storm from her anchors in Tangier Bay, and lost on that coast, January	$167\frac{8}{9}$
13 0	16 0	556	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
15 0	16 6	588	160	200	250	44	44	52	Burnt lying as a guard-ship at Chatham by the Dutch, June	1667
13 0	16 0	567	150	200	230	40	40	46	—	—
13 2	16 0	628	185	240	280	46	46	54	—	—
12 0	14 6	394	120	140	180	32	32	40	Cast away at Gibraltarr, December	1664
10 10	13 0	368	115	150	180	36	36	42	—	—

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
4th	*Oxford*	Bristol	Mr. Bayly	—	—	1674	109	0	34	0
	Patrick, St.	Bristol	Mr. Bayly	—	—	1666	102	0	33	10
	Paul, St.	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	84	0	25	6
	Phenix	Woolwich	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1647	96	0	28	6
	Phenix	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1672	90	0	28	6
	Portland	Wapping	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	1652	105	0	33	0
	Portsmouth	Portsmouth	Thomas Eastwood	—	—	1649	100	0	29	6
	Princesse	Forest of Dean	Daniel Furzer	—	—	1660	104	0	33	0
	Providence	Thames	Mr. Graves	—	—	1637	90	0	27	4
	Reserve	Woodbridge	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1650	100	0	31	1
	Ruby	Deptford	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1651	105	6	31	6
	Saphire	Ratcliff	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1651	100	0	29	0
	Seven Oakes	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	105	0	35	0
	Stathouse van harlem	—	—	Dutch	—	1667	90	0	30	4
	Stavoreen	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	100	0	32	0
	Swallow	Pitch-house	Thomas Taylor	—	—	1653	100	10	32	0
	Sweepstakes	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1669	87	0	28	6
	Tiger	Deptford	Peter Pett, sen.	—	—	1647	99	0	29	4
	Tiger Prize	—	—	Algier	—	1678	112	0	33	0
	Two Lyons	—	—	Algier	—	1682	115	6	33	6
	Unity	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	95	0	24	6
	Welcome	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	82	0	29	0
	West Friezland	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	102	0	32	0
	Woolwich	Woolwich	Phineas Pett	—	—	1675	112	0	35	9
	Yarmouth	Yarmouth	Mr. Edgarr	—	—	1653	105	0	33	0
	Young Prince	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	90	0	28	0
	Zealand	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	93	0	28	6
5th	Algier	—	—	Algier	—	1671	82	6	28	0
	Augusteen	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	100	0	26	0
	Bryer	—	—	King's	—	1649	70	0	26	0
	Church	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	69	0	23	6
	Colchester	Yarmouth	Mr. Edgarr	—	—	1654	83	0	25	6
	Convert	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	90	0	26	0
	Coventry	—	—	King's	—	1658	68	0	23	0
	Dartmouth	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippets	—	—	1655	80	0	25	0
	Date Tree	—	—	Algier	—	1678	—		—	
	Dolphin	—	—	French	—	1653	70	0	20	0
	Eagle	Wapping	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	1654	85	6	25	6
	Elias	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	78	0	27	0
	Falcon	Woolwich	Christ. Pett	—	—	1666	88	0	27	4
	Fame	—	—	French	—	165¾	68	0	24	0
	Forrester	Forest of Dean	Mr. Daniel Furzer	—	—	1657	87	0	25	6
	Fountaine	—	—	Algier	—	1664	88	0	28	2

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions				Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold		Draught of water			Men			Guns				
					Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
						Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Tons								
15	6	17	8	670	185	240	280	46	46	54	—	—
14	6	16	6	621	120	160	220	40	40	48	Taken by the Dutch, February	166$\frac{6}{7}$
9	8	10	6	291	110	140	160	40	40	48	Burnt in fight against the Dutch, June	1666
12	0	14	6	414	100	130	150	32	32	40	Cast away at Gibraltarr, December	1664
11	2	13	0	389	115	150	180	36	36	42	—	—
13	0	16	0	608	155	210	240	44	44	50	—	—
12	6	16	0	463	140	185	220	40	40	46	—	—
14	3	16	6	602	185	240	280	46	46	54	Ordered to be broken up, November	1680
11	0	13	6	358	80	100	140	30	30	34	Made a fire-ship, June	1667
12	4	15	0	513	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
13	0	16	0	539	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
12	0	16	0	447	90	130	160	30	30	36	Cast away upon the island Sicilly, March	1670
15	0	16	0	684	120	160	190	44	44	52	Retaken, 2nd June	1666
11	6	15	0	440	140	185	220	40	40	46	Converted into a hulk at Deptford	1669
12	9	14	4	544	150	200	230	42	42	48	Sold as useless, February	1682
13	0	15	6	549	150	200	230	42	42	48	—	—
11	0	13	8	376	115	150	180	36	36	42	—	—
12	0	14	8	453	120	160	190	38	38	44	—	—
12	8	15	0	649	150	210	230	42	42	48	—	—
13	6	13	6	552	120	160	190	38	38	44	—	—
9	2	12	4	303	100	130	150	34	34	42	Taken lying as a guard-ship at Sheerness, June	1667
10	7	14	0	367	100	120	150	30	30	36	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Woolwich in June	1667
12	0	16	0	556	120	145	180	44	44	54	Sold 27 November	1667
15	0	16	4	761	185	240	280	46	46	54	—	—
13	3	17	0	608	185	240	280	46	46	54	Ordered to be broke up, May	1680
10	2	13	6	375	100	120	150	32	32	38	Made a fire-ship, June	1666
9	0	15	0	402	110	130	160	36	36	42	Sold, 27 November	1667
12	6	13	6	344	110	150	160	26	26	32	Cast away on the Black Tayle, June	1673
13	0	14	0	360	75	90	120	26	26	32	Cast, and sunk at Harwich for a fence to the graving place	1665
8	10	11	0	252	65	80	100	18	18	22	Made a fire-ship	1666
9	6	10	8	194	65	80	110	20	20	26	Sold in November	1660
11	0	12	0	287	75	100	125	24	24	28	Sunk in fight with the French at the West Indies, March	1666
10	0	11	0	324	70	90	120	26	26	34	Sold, September	1661
9	6	11	0	191	70	90	110	24	24	26	Taken by the French at Guardaloope, August	1666
10	0	12	0	266	90	115	135	28	28	32	—	—
—		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sunk at Cadiz as she was careening	1679
9	0	10	0	149	50	75	100	16	16	20	Made a fire-ship	1665
10	0	12	0	295	90	115	135	28	28	32	Made a fire-ship	1674
8	0	9	0	302	90	110	130	30	30	34	Sold, November	1667
12	0	13	0	349	95	120	140	30	30	36	Made a 4th-rate	1668
10	6	12	0	208	65	85	120	24	24	30	Made a fire-ship	1665
10	6	12	0	300	75	100	140	24	24	38	Blown up by accident at Livorne, November	1672
11	6	14	0	371	100	115	150	30	30	34	Made a fire-ship	1672

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
5th	French Victory	—	—	French	—	1665	88	0	29	0
	Great Guift	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	98	0	30	6
	Greyhound	—	—	King's	—	1655	60	0	26	6
	Guardland	South[amp]ton	Mr. Daniel Furzer	—	—	1654	81	0	24	6
	Guernsey	Walderswick	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1654	80	0	24	0
	Halfe Moone	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	97	0	25	0
	Happy Entrance	—	—	King's	—	1657	76	0	24	0
	Hector	—	—	King's	—	165^{6}_{7}	71	0	17	2
	Helderenberg	—	—	D. of Monmouth's	—	1686	74	0	24	10
	Holmes	—	—	—	Bought of Sir Robert Holmes	1671	80	0	22	9
	Hound	—	—	Jamaica	—	1655	80	0	22	0
	Hunter	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	80	0	25	0
	Little Victory	Chatham	Mr. Joseph Lawrence	—	—	1665	75	0	21	0
	Little Unicorn	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	72	0	22	0
	Lizard	—	—	King's	—	1652	60	0	22	9
	Mermaid	Limehouse	Mr. Graves	—	—	1651	86	0	25	0
	Milford	Wivenhoe	Mr. Page	—	—	1654	82	0	24	6
	Nightingale	Horslydown	Mr. Bright	—	—	1651	87	0	25	0
	Nonsuch	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1668	88	3	27	8
	Norwich	Chatham	Phineas Pett	—	—	1655	80	6	24	6
	Old Success	—	—	French	—	1650	94	0	30	0
	Orange	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	74	0	25	3
	Orange Tree	—	—	Argier	—	1677	76	0	26	4
	Oxford	Deptford	Mr. Callice	—	—	1655	72	0	24	0
	Paul	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	84	0	25	6
	Paul, St.	—	—	Dutch: retaken from the Algereens	—	1679	74	0	25	9
	Pearle	Ratcliff	Mr. Peter Pett	—	—	1651	86	0	25	0
	Pembroke	Woolwich	Mr. Raven	—	—	1655	81	0	25	0
	Phœnix	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1671	90	0	28	6
	Richmond	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1655	72	0	23	6
	Rose	Yarmouth	Mr. Edgarr	—	—	1 74	75	0	24	0
	Rosebush	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	84	0	24	6
	Red Lyon	—	—	Argier	—	1683	—		—	
	Saphire	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1675	86	0	27	0
	Satisfaction	—	—	Dutch	—	1649	89	0	24	6
	Sophia	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	90	0	26	0
	Sorlings	—	—	King's	—	1657	86	0	26	6
	Speedwell	Deptford	Mr. Callice	—	—	1656	76	0	24	0
	Success	Chatham	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	1657	85	0	25	6

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
			Men			Guns				
				War			War			
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Peace everywhere	Abroad	At home	Peace everywhere	Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
11 6	14 6	394	95	120	160	30	30	38	Taken by the Dutch, May	1672
12 6	13 6	485	75	85	100	32	32	40	Made a fire-ship	1666
8 6	10 0	224	65	85	100	20	20	24	Made a fire-ship	1665
10 0	11 6	260	85	110	130	28	28	30	—	—
10 0	12 0	245	85	110	130	28	28	30	—	—
10 8	14 0	322	70	90	130	28	28	34	Sold, November	1660
9 10	11 0	233	65	90	120	20	20	24	Made a fire-ship	1666
9 0	9 0	111	65	85	100	18	18	22	Sunk in fight against the Dutch, September	1665
9 6	11 3	242	85	110	130	28	28	30	—	—
12 9	13 6	220	65	80	100	20	20	24	Made a fire-ship	1677
10 0	11 0	206	50	60	75	16	16	18	Made a fire-ship	1665
10 6	13 6	265	85	110	130	28	28	30	Sold as useless, December	1683
10 0	9 0	175	65	85	100	20	20	28	Made a fire-ship	1671
10 6	9 6	185	60	75	100	16	16	18	Made a fire-ship	1666
9 0	9 6	165	50	60	75	18	18	20	Made a fire-ship	1666
10 0	12 0	286	90	115	135	28	28	32	—	—
10 0	12 0	262	75	100	125	24	24	28	Burnt in drying the bread-room at Port-Mahone, July	1673
10 0	12 6	289	75	100	140	22	22	28	Cast away on the Goodwin, January	1671
10 10	13 0	368	100	120	150	30	30	36	Made a 4th-rate	1669
10 6	12 0	253	85	110	130	28	28	30	Lost at Jamaica by carrying merchants' goods, July	1682
11 6	14 0	450	80	110	140	30	30	34	Sold, September	1662
9 10	11 6	251	80	105	130	26	26	32	Foundered in the Gulf of Lyons	1671
8 10	11 0	280	85	110	130	28	28	30	—	—
10 0	11 0	221	70	95	120	22	22	26	Given to the Governor of Jamaica, 2 March, 1667, and blown up by accident	1669
9 8	10 6	291	55	85	95	24	24	28	Sold, 27 November	1667
11 2½	14 0	260	90	115	135	28	28	32	—	—
10 0	12 0	285	85	110	130	28	28	30	—	—
11 0	12 0	269	75	100	110	28	28	34	Sunk by accident by the Fairfax in Tar Bay, May	1667
11 2	13 0	389	115	150	180	36	36	42	Made a 4th-rate	1672
9 9	11 6	211	80	105	125	26	26	28	—	—
10 0	12 6	229	80	105	125	26	26	28	—	—
11 6	14 0	268	70	85	100	24	24	30	Made a hulk at Harwich, October	1664
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold, December	1683
11 0	13 2	333	90	115	135	28	28	32	—	—
10 6	14 0	284	80	100	120	26	26	32	Cast away on the coast of Holland, September	1662
11 0	13 0	324	70	100	130	26	26	34	Sold as useless, October	1667
11 4	15 0	321	80	105	130	26	26	32	Cast away upon the Woolpack Sand, November	1667
9 0	11 0	233	80	105	125	26	26	28	Cast away upon Nova Zembla	1678
10 0	12 0	294	90	115	135	28	28	32	Lost at Jamaica, December	1680

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
5th	*Swann*	—	—	—	Bought of Capt. Anthony Young	1673	74	0	25	0
	Sweepstakes	Yarmouth	Mr. Edgarr	—	—	1666	87	0	28	6
	Welcome	—	—	—	From a fire-ship	1671	82	0	29	0
	Westergate	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	86	0	2	6
6th	Bramble	—	—	Ostend	—	1657	59	0	20	0
	Cignet	Chatham	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	1657	45	0	15	6
	Cornelion	—	—	French	—	1652	52	0	19	0
	David	—	—	Argile's	—	1685	55	0	16	2
	Drake	Deptford	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1652	85	0	18	0
	Dunbarton	—	—	Argile's	—	1685	71	0	22	1
	Fanfan	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1665	44	0	12	0
	Flying Greyhound	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	78	0	23	6
	Fox	—	—	Ostend	—	1656	72	0	23	0
	Francis	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1666	66	0	20	0
	Greyhound	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1672	75	0	21	6
	Griffin	—	—	Ostend	—	1657	60	0	19	6
	Guift	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	60	0	20	0
	Half Moon	—	—	Salley	—	1685	67	4	25	0
	Harp	Ireland	—	—	—	1659	51	0	16	8
	Heart	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1658	50	0	14	6
	Henrietta pinnace	—	—	—	—	1634	52	0	15	0
	Hunter	—	—	King's	—	1657	45	0	14	6
	Kingsale	—	—	King's	—	1657	55	0	17	8
	Larke	—	—	King's	—	1657	52	0	17	6
	Larke	Blackwall	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1675	74	0	22	6
	Leicester	—	—	—	Bought	1667	84	0	24	0
	Lilly	Deptford	Mr. Callice	—	—	1657	50	0	15	6
	Martin	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	$165\frac{2}{3}$	64	0	19	4
	Mary prize	—	—	Spanish	—	1654	60	0	18	6
	Merlin	Chatham	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	$165\frac{2}{3}$	75	0	18	0
	Morning Star	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	52	0	17	0
	Old Francis	—	—	King's	—	1657	59	0	16	6
	Parradox	—	—	King's	—	1649	60	0	20	0
	Roebuck	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1666	64	0	19	6
	Rose	—	—	Sally	—	1684	64	0	23	0
	Saudadoes	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1670	50	0	18	0
		Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1673	74	0	21	6
	Shedam	—	—	Sally	—	1684	—		—	
	Sophia	—	—	Argile's	—	1685	65	0	20	1
	Swann	—	—	Sally	—	1684	—		—	
	Truelove	—	—	King's	—	1649	59	0	18	0
	Two Lyons	—	—	Sally	—	1683	—		—	
	Vulture	—	—	King's	—	1648	54	0	17	6
	Woolf	—	—	Spanish	—	1655	61	0	20	0

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Men			Guns				
			Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
10 0	11 0	246	90	115	135	28	28	32	—	—
11 0	13 8	376	95	120	140	30	30	36	Made a 4th-rate	1669
10 7	12 6	366	70	100	130	26	26	34	Made a fire-ship	1673
12 0	13 0	275	70	80	100	24	24	30	Cast away coming from Jamaica, August	1664
8 6	9 6	125	30	40	50	12	12	14	—	—
5 6	6 6	58	22	35	50	6	6	8	—	—
8 8	8 10	100	30	40	50	6	6	6	—	—
9 9	9 8	76	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ordered to be sold or broke up, September	1685
7 8	9 0	146	45	65	75	14	14	16	—	—
10 0	11 0	$191\frac{76}{94}$	55	70	80	18	18	20	—	—
5 8	5 6	33	18	25	30	4	4	4	—	—
11 0	12 0	229	20	30	40	20	20	24	Given Sir William Pen by warrant, 14 October	1667
8 6	10 0	203	30	45	60	12	12	14	Made a fire-ship	1666
9 2	8 8	140	45	65	75	14	14	16	Lost in a hurricane at the Leward Islands	1684
9 0	8 6	184	45	65	75	14	14	16	—	—
7 6	9 0	121	25	40	60	10	10	12	Cast away at Jamaica	1664
8 6	9 0	128	40	60	80	14	14	16	Sold as useless	1667
10 6	10 3	214	50	70	85	16	16	18	—	—
8 0	8 2	75	25	30	35	8	8	10	Sold in Ireland	1671
5 6	5 0	55	25	30	35	6	6	8	Sold as useless, October	1683
7 6	9 0	62	25	30	35	6	6	8	Sold as useless, September	1661
6 0	6 0	50	20	25	30	6	6	6	Cast away at sea	1661
8 8	8 10	91	25	35	45	6	6	8	Sold as useless, October	1663
8 6	9 6	85	30	35	40	6	6	8	Sold as useless, October	1663
9 2	9 0	199	50	70	85	16	16	18	—	—
11 8	12 4	257	20	30	40	20	20	24	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Blackwall, June	1667
5 6	6 6	64	22	30	35	6	6	6	Sold as useless, October	1667
7 0	8 0	127	35	50	60	10	10	12	Sold as useless, February	1667
9 0	9 4	109	30	50	60	12	12	14	Taken by the Dutch, October	1666
7 8	9 0	129	35	60	80	12	12	14	Taken by the Dutch going to Tanger, October	1665
8 6	8 10	80	25	35	45	12	12	14	Given to Captain Clerke by order in June	1674
7 0	8 0	85	40	45	50	12	12	14	Made a fire-ship	1672
8 0	9 0	128	35	60	70	12	12	14	Sold as useless, February	1667
9 10	8 6	129	45	65	75	14	14	16	Sold as useless, December	1683
10 2	10 8	180	45	65	75	14	14	16	—	—
8 0	8 0	180	30	35	40	6	6	8 }	—	—
10 0	9 6	86	45	65	75	14	14	16 }		
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cast away at the Land's End, May	1684
9 6	11 0	$145\frac{76}{94}$	30	40	50	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Given to Captain St. Loe, April	1684
7 1	8 6	102	35	50	60	12	12	14	Made a fire-ship	1668
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ordered to be sold or broke up, April	1685
9 0	10 0	88	40	50	60	6	6	6	Sold as useless, October	1663
8 6	11 0	130	50	60	70	6	6	6	Sold as useless, October	1663

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
6th	Young Lyon	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	42	0	14	0
	Young Sprag	—	—	—	Bought of Sir Edward Sprag	1673	46	0	18	0
	Doggers									
	Buck	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Cassimire	—	—	,,	—	1666	45	0	17	6
	Deale	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Dove	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Dover	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Fly	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Frog	—	—	,,	—	1673	45	0	17	6
	George	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Good Fortune	—	—	,,	—	1665	45	0	17	6
	Hard Bargain	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Hare	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Heart	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Hinde	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Jacob, St.	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Johanna	—	—	,,	—	1666	45	0	17	6
	John and Peter	—	—	,,	—	1666	45	0	17	6
	Katherine, St.	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Lilly	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Lyme	—	—	Duke of Monmouth	—	1685	50	0	14	2
	Messenger	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Peterman	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Peter, St.	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Roe	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Romery Kirk	—	—	,,	—	1666	45	0	17	6
	Rose	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Shelfish	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Tulip	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Well	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	William	—	—	,,	—	1672	45	0	17	6
	Fire-ships									
	Abigale	—	—	—	Bought	1666	63	0	20	8
	Albemarle	—	—	—	,,	1667	64	0	22	0
	Alice & Francis	—	—	—	,,	1672	76	0	25	8
	Alleppin	—	—	—	,,	1666	76	0	24	0
	Amity	—	—	—	,,	1673	76	0	25	0
	Ann & Christopher	—	—	—	,,	167½	76	0	25	5

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions			Force							
Depth in hold	Draught of water	Burden	Men			Guns			Exits	When
			Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
5 0	9 0	44	30	40	50	8	8	10	Sold October 1667. Re-bought April 1668, and sunk at Sheernesse	1673
9 0	8 6	79	30	40	50	10	10	10	Made a fire-ship	1677
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	30	6	6	6	Given Sir Lawrence Van Hemskirke, January	166⅞
8 6	9 6	73	8	12	16	6	6	8	Sold, October	1674
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	30	6	6	8	Cast away, February	1673
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	30	6	6	8	Given to Mr. Thomas Butts	1677
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	30	4	4	6	Cast away, September	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	24	28	36	6	6	8	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	10	16	20	4	4	6	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, and wrecked, June	1677
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	36	6	6	8	Retaken, August	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	36	6	6	8	Retaken, July	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Retaken, February	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	10	16	20	4	4	6	Given Sir Lawrence Van Hemskirke, January	1667
8 6	9 6	73	10	16	20	4	4	6	Given Sir Lawrence Van Hemskirke, April	1667
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Cast away at sea	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
7 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Converted into a ballast hoy for Portsmouth	1685
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Lent the Adventurers to Hudson's Bay 17 May, 1672, and since cast away	—
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	30	4	4	6	Retaken, February	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sunk in the engagement, August	1673
8 6	9 6	73	10	16	20	4	4	6	Delivered to Sir John Griffith, January	1667
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sunk in the engagement, August	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Given Sir John Ernle, junior, March	1673
8 6	9 6	73	8	10	12	4	4	6	Sold, May	1674
8 6	9 6	73	24	28	36	6	6	8	Sold, October	1674
8 6	9 6	73	18	24	30	6	6	8	Sold, May	1674
9 9	9 10	143	30	30	35	4	4	4	Burnt in service, July	1666
10 0	10 6	164	36	36	40	6	6	6	Burnt in service, June	1667
11 0	11 6	266	36	36	40	6	6	6	Burnt in fight, May	1672
11 0	11 10	233	36	36	40	6	6	6	Foundered on the coast of Ireland, September	1667
11 0	11 10	252	36	36	40	6	6	6	Sunk at Sheerness for a fence to the graving place, November	1673
10 0	11 6	261	40	40	4	8	8	8	Ordered to be sold, May	1686

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
	Ann & Judith	—	—	—	Bought	1672	76	6	25	6
	Bantum	—	—	—	,,	167½	75	0	26	3
	Barbados Merchant	—	—	—	,,	1666	76	0	23	6
	Benjamin	—	—	—	,,	1673	57	0	20	9
	Blessing	—	—	—	,,	1666	63	0	22	9
	Blessing	—	—	—	,,	1673	57	0	19	0
	Bramble	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1665	59	0	20	0
	Bryer	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	70	0	26	0
	Bull	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	60	0	19	6
	Buss	—	—	,,	—	1672	52	0	17	0
	Callabash	—	—	Algier	—	1680	78	0	25	2
	Camell	—	—	Dutch	—	1667	62	0	19	10
	Castle	—	—	—	Bought	167½	85	0	27	0
	Catt	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	78	0	23	3
	Charles	—	—	—	Bought	1666	67	0	24	3
	Constant John	—	—	—	,,	1666	67	0	22	6
	Daniel	—	—	—	,,	1666	63	0	21	9
	Dartmouth	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	57	0	20	6
	Dolphin	—	—	—	Bought	1666	64	0	20	6
	Dolphin	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1665	70	0	20	0
	Eagle	—	—	—	Bought	1672	74	0	23	0
	Eagle	—	—	Algerine	—	1670	56	0	13	0
	Eagle	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1674	85	6	25	6
	Expedition	—	—	—	From a 4th-rate	1667	90	0	27	4
	Fame	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1665	68	0	23	0
	Fortune	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	94	0	28	0
	Fountaine	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1672	88	0	28	2
	Fox	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1666	72	0	23	0
	Francis	—	—	French	—	1666	71	0	23	8
	Friendship	—	—	—	Bought	1673	64	0	23	0
	George	—	—	—	,,	1672	86	0	29	4
	Golden hand	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	90	0	24	6
	Golden heart	—	—	—	Bought	1667	57	0	19	0
	Golden Rose	—	—	Algier	—	1681	66	6	21	6
	Great Guift	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	98	0	30	6
	Greyhound	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	60	0	26	6
	Happy Entrance	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	76	0	24	0
	Hare	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	67	0	22	6
	Hestor	—	—	—	Bought	1673	50	0	19	6

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Men			Guns				
			Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
11 4	11 6	264	30	30	35	6	6	6	Sunk in the engagement, May	1672
10 0	11 0	276	36	36	40	6	6	6	Sunk in the engagement, May	1672
10 6	11 6	223	38	38	44	6	6	8	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, June	1667
9 0	9 6	130	20	20	24	6	6	6	Taken by a Dutch caper, August	1673
10 0	10 6	173	18	18	20	4	4	4	Lost in fight, July	1666
9 0	9 9	109	14	14	16	4	4	4	Burnt in fight, August	1673
8 6	9 6	125	20	20	25	6	6	8	Burnt in service, June	1667
8 10	11 0	252	36	36	40	8	8	12	Given Mr. Golding by warrant dated in October	1667
9 0	9 2	121	24	24	30	4	4	4	Sold, October	1674
8 0	7 2	80	12	12	14	4	4	4	Sold, October	1684
—	—	262	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold as useless, December	1684
9 2	9 0	130	24	24	30	4	4	6	Burnt in service, July	1667
11 0	11 6	329	40	40	45	8	8	8	Sold, December	1683
10 0	11 0	224	20	20	25	4	4	4	Sold, May	1668
11 0	11 2	209	36	36	40	6	6	6	Sold, November	1667
10 4	11 6	180	36	36	40	6	6	6	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, June	1667
10 0	10 0	159	36	36	40	6	6	6	Sold as useless, November	1667
9 8	10 0	127	24	24	30	4	4	4	Sold, May	1674
9 6	9 8	143	24	24	30	4	4	4	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, June	1667
9 0	10 0	149	30	30	35	4	4	4	Burnt in service, June	1665
10 0	10 2	208	24	24	30	4	4	6	Foundered in her voyage to St. Halena, April	1673
6 0	6 0	50	12	12	14	6	6	6	Burnt at Bugie, May	1671
10 0	12 0	295	45	45	45	12	12	12	—	—
11 0	13 6	357	40	40	45	6	6	8	Sold, October	1667
10 6	12 0	208	30	30	34	8	8	12	Burnt in service, June	1665
12 6	12 2	392	50	50	70	4	4	6	Burnt in service, July	1666
11 6	14 0	371	40	40	46	8	8	10	Blown up in the engagement, May	1672
8 6	10 2	203	30	30	35	4	4	6	Burnt in service, August	1666
9 10	10 0	211	30	30	36	2	2	4	Sold, December	1667
10 0	10 4	180	24	24	30	4	4	6	Sunk in the engagement, August	1673
12 0	12 6	393	40	40	45	6	6	6	Sunk at Sheernesse for a fence to the graving-place, October	1674
12 0	10 6	287	45	45	50	6	6	6	Foundered on the coast of Holland, August	1673
9 0	8 9	109	20	20	25	4	4	4	Burnt in service, June	1667
9 8	11 0	163	30	30	35	6	6	6	—	—
12 6	13 6	485	45	45	50	4	4	4	Burnt in service, July	1666
8 6	10 0	224	40	40	45	4	4	6	Burnt in service, June	1666
9 10	11 0	233	30	30	35	6	6	6	Burnt in service, June	1666
10 6	10 8	180	36	36	40	6	6	6	Burnt by accident at Harwich, Feb.	1665
9 0	8 9	101	16	16	20	6	6	6	Blown up by accident at Sheernesse, December	1673

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
	Holmes . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1677	80	0	22	9
	Hope prize . .	—	—	Dutch	—	1672	52	0	18	2
	Hopefull Adventure .	—	—	—	Bought	1666	64	0	22	0
	Hopewell . . .	—	—	—	,,	1672	70	0	25	6
	Hound . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	80	0	22	0
	Jacob, St. . . .	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	65	0	22	6
	Jacob, St. . .	—	—	—	Bought	1667	90	0	24	0
	Jason . . .	—	—	—	,,	1673	61	0	21	3
	John & Allexander .	—	—	—	,,	1678	69	0	22	0
	John & Sarah . .	—	—	—	,,	1666	59	0	20	6
	Joseph . . .	—	—	—	,,	1666	55	0	18	6
	Katherine . . .	—	—	—	,,	1672	76	0	27	0
	Katherine . . .	—	—	—	,,	167½	67	0	22	6
	Land of Promise .	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	68	0	23	0
	Laurence . . .	—	—	—	Bought	1672	60	0	22	0
	Leopard . . .	—	—	—	,,	1672	68	0	25	0
	Litle Victory . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1671	75	0	21	0
	Litle Unicorn . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	72	0	22	0
	Lizard . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1666	60	0	22	9
	Mallaga Merchant .	—	—	—	Bought	1666	62	0	25	0
	Mary . . .	—	—	—	,,	1666	55	0	19	6
	Mary . . .	—	—	—	,,	1667	56	0	19	0
	Marygold . . .	—	—	—	,,	1673	74	9	28	11
	Mary prize . .	—	—	English, retaken from the Dutch	—	1666	55	0	19	4
	Milkmaid . . .	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	68	0	21	0
	Old Francis . .	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1672	59	0	16	6
	Olive branch . .	—	—	—	Bought	1672	64	0	24	6
	Olive branch prize .	—	—	Dutch	—	1673	65	6	24	0
	Orange prize . .	—	—	,,	—	1672	69	0	23	0
	Orange Tree . .	—	—	—	Bought	1672	68	0	21	0
	Paul, St. . . .	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	84	0	25	6
	Peace . . .	—	—	—	Bought	1678	64	0	20	8
	Pearle . . .	—	—	—	,,	1673	63	0	22	0
	Prosperous . .	—	—	—	,,	1666	62	0	25	0
	Providence . .	Thames	Mr. Greaves	—	From a 4th-rate	1667	90	0	27	4
	Providence . .	—	—	—	Bought	1665	60	0	21	8
	Providence . .	—	—	—	,,	1672	67	0	22	6
	Providence . .	—	—	—	,,	1678	66	0	22	4
	Prudent Mary . .	—	—	—	,,	1672	76	0	26	6
	Rachel . . .	—	—	—	,,	1672	60	0	20	6
	Richard . . .	—	—	—	,,	1666	62	0	24	6
	Robert . . .	—	—	—	,,	1666	52	0	21	0

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions				Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold		Draught of water			Men			Guns				
					Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
						Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Tons								
12	9	13	6	220	35	35	35	8	8	8	Sold as useless, February	1682
8	6	8	4	91	12	12	16	2	2	2	Sold, May	1674
10	6	11	4	165	30	30	35	4	4	4	Sold, October	1667
11	0	11	4	242	30	30	35	6	6	6	Burnt in the engagement, August	1673
10	0	11	0	206	40	40	45	6	6	8	Burnt in service, June	1666
11	0	11	0	175	36	36	40	4	4	4	Sold Sir Edward Sprag, November	1667
12	0	11	6	276	36	36	40	4	4	4	Burnt in service, June	1667
10	6	10	8	146	30	30	36	4	4	4	Sold, May	1674
9	8	11	0	178	30	30	35	8	8	8	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
10	0	9	8	132	30	30	35	4	4	4	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, June	1667
9	6	9	6	101	30	30	35	4	4	4	Burnt at Martinico in the West Indies, June	1667
12	6	12	0	294	36	36	40	6	6	6	Burnt in service, May	1672
11	0	11	0	180	30	30	35	6	6	6	Burnt in the engagement, August	1673
11	0	10	8	191	40	40	45	6	6	6	Burnt in service, July	1666
10	9	10	6	154	24	24	30	6	6	6	Burnt in service, August	1673
10	9	11	0	226	30	30	35	6	6	6	Burnt in service, August	1673
10	0	9	0	175	30	30	35	6	6	6	Burnt at Bugie, May	1671
10	6	9	6	185	36	36	40	4	4	4	Burnt in service, June	1666
9	0	9	6	165	40	40	45	6	6	6	Burnt in service, August	1666
11	0	12	4	206	30	30	35	4	4	4	Sold as useless, November	1667
9	6	9	4	111	30	30	35	4	4	4	Sold as useless, October	1667
8	9	9	0	108	30	30	35	4	4	4	Burnt in service, June	1667
12	0	12	2	332	40	40	45	4	4	4	Sunk in fight	1673
9	9	9	1	109	20	20	25	4	4	4	Foundered at sea, 13 October, 1666, and satisfaction made the owners	1666
9	8	9	10	159	18	18	22	4	4	4	Delivered Sir William Penn for the Sarah, February	$166\frac{6}{7}$
7	0	8	0	85	12	12	16	6	6	6	Sold, May	1674
11	9	12	0	204	30	30	35	6	6	6	Sold, October	1674
11	6	11	8	200	30	30	35	6	6	6	Lost at sea, August	1673
10	9	10	0	194	36	36	40	6	6	6	Blown up by accident, June	1673
9	8	9	10	159	24	24	30	6	6	6	Burnt by accident, May	1673
9	8	10	6	290	45	45	50	4	4	4	Sold as useless, October	1667
9	10	10	8	145	24	24	30	6	6	8	—	—
10	9	10	6	162	24	24	30	6	6	6	Sunk in the engagement, August	1673
11	0	11	4	206	24	24	30	6	6	6	Sold at the West Indies	1667
11	0	13	6	358	40	40	45	6	6	6	Cast away at Tanger, October	1668
9	6	9	8	150	40	40	45	6	6	6	Sunk in the engagement, July	1666
10	6	10	8	180	40	40	45	6	6	6	Sunk in fight, May	1673
9	9	10	6	175	24	24	30	6	6	8	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
12	6	12	10	294	40	40	45	6	6	6	Burnt engaging with the Dutch, August	1673
9	8	10	0	134	24	24	30	6	6	6	Lost engaging with the Dutch, May	1673
11	0	11	2	198	36	36	44	4	4	4	Burnt in service, August	1666
10	9	10	6	122	24	24	30	4	4	4	Sold, November	1667

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom							
							Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
	Robert	—	—	—	Bought	1672	50	0	20	6
	Rose	—	—	Algier	—	1670	65	6	18	0
	Sampson	—	—	—	Bought	1678	78	0	24	1
	Samuel	—	—	—	,,	1666	54	0	20	6
	Samuel & Anne	—	—	—	,,	1672	73	3	25	0
	Sarah	—	—	—	From Sir W. Pen, exchange for the Milkmaid	1666	58	0	17	0
	Sarah	—	—	—	Bought	1678	64	0	20	6
	Society	—	—	—	,,	1673	82	0	27	0
	Spanish Merchant	—	—	—	,,	1678	79	0	26	0¾
	Spred Eagle	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	74	8	24	8
	Starr	—	—	—	Bought	1667	54	0	20	6
	Success	—	—	—	,,	1672	51	0	21	8
	Supply	—	—	—	,,	167½	73	0	24	4
	Swann	—	—	—	,,	1667	52	0	16	0
	Thomas & Edward	—	—	—	,,	1672	72	0	24	0
	Thomas & George	—	—	—	,,	1672	72	0	25	3
	Thomas & Katherine	—	—	—	,,	1678	60	0	20	7
	Truelove	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1668	59	0	18	0
	Virgin	—	—	—	Bought	1666	64	0	20	10
	Unicorne	—	—	—	,,	1666	64	0	23	0
	Welcome	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1673	82	0	29	0
	Wivenhoe	—	—	—	From a Pink	1673	52	0	19	1
	Young Prince	—	—	—	From a 4th-rate	1666	90	0	28	0
	Young Spragg	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1677	46	0	18	0
	Fly-boats									
	Abraham	—	—	English, retaken from the Dutch	—	1665	69	0	23	6
	Blew Boar	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	64	0	23	0
	Coppersmith	—	—	,,	—	1665	77	0	22	3
	Crown Malago	—	—	,,	—	1664	70	0	23	0
	Fortune	—	—	,,	—	1666	64	0	23	0
	Fortune	—	—	,,	—	1672	90	0	22	0
	Franekin	—	—	,,	—	1665	72	0	24	0
	Freizland	—	—	,,	—	1665	84	6	22	6
	Good hope	—	—	,,	—	1665	76	0	21	0
	Hardereen	—	—	,,	—	1665	65	0	20	0
	Horseman	—	—	,,	—	1665	68	0	23	0

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
			Men			Guns				
				War			War			
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Peace every-where	Abroad	At home	Peace every-where	Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
9 6	9 4	112	24	24	30	4	4	4	Sunk at Sheernesse for a fence to the graving-place	1674
7 6	8 0	112	16	16	20	4	4	4	Burnt at Bugie, May	1671
10 8	12 0	240	40	40	45	8	8	12	—	—
9 6	11 2	121	30	30	35	4	4	4	Burnt in service, August	1666
10 6	10 9	243	36	36	40	6	6	6	Burnt in the engagement, May	1673
8 0	8 1	89	14	14	18	4	4	4	Sold as useless, November	1667
9 2	10 6	143	20	20	25	4	4	6	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
12 8	12 0	318	40	40	45	6	6	6	Burnt in the engagement, August	1673
10 2	11 6	250	36	36	40	6	6	8	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
12 6	12 4	240	36	36	40	6	6	6	Burnt in service, June	1666
9 7	9 8	121	20	20	25	4	4	4	Burnt in service, June	1667
9 9	9 8	127	24	24	30	6	6	6	Sunk, 26 March	1673
10 6	11 0	230	30	30	35	6	6	6	Burnt in the engagement, August	1673
7 10	8 0	71	12	12	14	2	2	2	Burnt in service, June	1667
11 4	11 6	221	30	30	35	6	6	6	Sold, May	1674
12 0	11 9	245	30	30	35	6	6	6	Cast away, October	1672
9 10	10 6	135	24	24	30	6	6	8	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
7 1	8 6	102	20	20	25	2	2	2	Sunk in the engagement, August	1673
9 9	9 0	148	24	24	30	4	4	4	Burnt in service, July	1667
10 6	11 9	180	30	30	35	6	6	6	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Chatham, June	1667
10 7	12 6	366	36	36	40	6	6	6	Made a 5th-rate, 1671; again a fire-ship in 1672, and burnt in fight, June	1673
8 6	7 6	100	20	20	25	6	6	6	Sold as useless, December	1683
10 2	13 6	375	45	45	50	6	6	8	Burnt in service, June	1666
9 0	8 6	79	20	20	25	6	6	6	—	—
12 0	11 10	202	16	16	16	4	4	4	Redelivered her owners, 22 May	1666
10 6	10 8	180	14	14	14	4	4	4	Redelivered Prize Office	1666
10 0	12 0	203	30	30	35	8	8	10	Sold as useless, November	1667
10 6	11 8	197	20	20	23	6	6	6	Given Mr. Thomas Warren, Aug.	1667
10 6	10 8	180	20	20	24	4	4	4	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Woolwich, June	1667
11 0	10 10	311	20	20	25	6	6	8	Sold, October	1674
11 4	10 6	221	20	20	25	8	8	8	Given Capt. Fortescue and Capt. Millet, October	1669
10 6	10 0	227	20	25	40	8	8	8	Lent to the Royal African Company, 27 December, '70, and given them, October	1672
10 2	9 10	178	16	16	20	4	4	6	Sold as useless at Portsmouth, Dec.	1667
10 9	9 0	138	20	25	40	4	4	4	Sold, October	1674
10 6	9 10	191	20	24	30	14	14	18	Sunk for a bar, &c., at Woolwich, and wrecked, June	1667

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
	Lamb	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	64	0	22	0
	Milkmayd	—	—	,,	—	1665	65	0	21	6
	Nassaw	—	—	,,	—	1672	64	0	23	0
	Patriark Isaac	—	—	,,	—	1665	67	0	22	0
	Peace	—	—	,,	—	1672	80	0	23	0
	Peter	—	—	,,	—	1665	64	0	23	0
	Prince William	—	—	,,	—	1665	90	0	23	0
	Sea Rider	—	—	,,	—	1665	80	0	28	8
	Spike	—	—	Argier	—	1679	98	0	24	10
	Swann	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	66	0	21	6
	Vantrump	—	—	,,	—	1665	102	0	24	0
	Unity	—	—	,,	—	1672	67	0	22	0
	White Fox	—	—	,,	—	1672	72	0	24	0
	White Rose	—	—	,,	—	1666	64	0	23	0
	Wild Boar	—	—	,,	—	1665	67	0	22	0
	Wood Merchant	—	—	,,	—	1665	65	0	21	8
	Young Hoblin	—	—	,,	—	1665	67	0	22	0
	Zealand	—	—	,,	—	1667	94	0	29	0
	Galliots and Hoys									
	Adam & Eve hoy	—	—	,,	—	1665	55	0	15	8
	Black Dog galliot	—	—	,,	—	1665	54	0	15	6
	Black Posthorse do.	—	—	,,	—	166$\frac{4}{5}$	54	0	18	8
	Chatham do.	—	—	,,	—	1666	53	0	18	0
	Galliot hoy	—	—	,,	—	1664	44	0	14	6
	Harwich do.	Harwich	John Gressingham	—	—	1660	38	0	16	0
	Hope	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	41	0	14	6
	James	—	—	,,	—	1665	47	0	17	0
	Jeremiah	—	—	,,	—	1666	39	0	16	0
	John galliot	—	—	,,	—	1666	47	0	18	0
	John hoy of Chatham	—	—	—	Bought	1667	39	0	16	0
	Lighter hoy	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1672	38	0	18	0
	Mackler hoy	—	—	Dutch	—	1664	57	0	18	6
	Marygold hoy	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1653	32	0	14	0
	Maybolt	—	—	Dutch	—	1666	54	6	18	8
	Palme-Tree	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	45	6	16	0
	Prosperous horse-boat	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1665	50	0	16	0
	Samuel of Chatham	—	—	—	Bought	1667	40	0	16	6

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions				Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold		Draught of water			Men			Guns				
					Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
						Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Tons								
10	0	9	8	164	12	12	16	4	4	4	Sold as useless, October	1667
10	2	9	8	152	16	16	20	4	4	4	Given Capt. Francis Digby, Dec.	1667
10	8	10	6	180	16	16	20	4	4	4	Delivered Col. Russell for repair of Newhaven	1672
9	8	9	6	172	16	16	20	4	4	4	Returned the Prize Office	1666
11	0	10	6	225	20	20	25	8	8	8	Delivered Col. Russell for repair of Newhaven	1674
10	8	10	6	180	14	14	18	4	4	4	Sold as useless, May	1668
11	0	10	8	253	13	13	17	4	4	4	Retaken, 17 February	1665
11	0	13	0	350	24	24	30	6	6	8	Sold as useless, October	1668
—		—		321	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ordered to be sunk at Harwich, but exchanged for a ship of Sir Wm. Warren's sunk in her room	1680
9	6	10	4	162	16	16	20	4	4	6	Redelivered to the Prize Office	1666
10	3	13	0	312	24	24	30	6	6	8	Sold as useless, November	1667
9	8	9	6	172	16	16	16	4	4	4	Restored to her owners, who came to inhabit in England, December	1672
11	4	11	6	221	20	20	25	6	6	8	Given Sir Thomas Allin, May	1674
10	8	10	6	180	16	16	20	4	4	6	Redelivered to the Prize Office	1667
9	6	9	4	172	16	16	20	4	4	6	Sold as useless, October	1667
10	0	10	6	162	16	16	20	4	4	4	Sold in the year 1667 per contract for two years' transportation of his Majesty's naval stores between London and Chatham	1667
9	8	9	6	172	16	16	20	4	4	6	Redelivered to the Prize Office	1666
10	4	14	0	420	24	24	30	6	6	8	Sold as useless, October	1668
7	6	7	6	72	7	7	7	—	—	—	Sunk at Sheernesse for a fence to the graving-place, May	1673
7	2	7	4	69	8	8	8	—	—	—	Sunk at Sheernesse for a fence to the graving-place, May	1673
9	0	10	0	100	9	9	9	—	—	—	Given Captain Sadlington	1670
9	0	9	8	91	8	8	10	—	—	—	Given Lieut. Augustin Lawson, October	1667
7	4	7	9	49	10	10	12	4	4	4	Given away to Captain John Straughan	1667
8	0	8	0	52	5	5	5	—	—	—	Sold	1680
6	2	7	0	46	6	6	6	—	—	—	Retaken, August	1672
7	4	7	0	72	8	8	8	—	—	—	Retaken by the Dutch	1673
8	0	8	0	53	5	5	35	4	4	4	Given Commissioner Taylor, Oct.	1667
7	8	7	7	81	10	10	12	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1667
8	0	8	0	53	5	5	5	—	—	—	Returned her owners with freight, January	$166\frac{7}{8}$
7	6	6	6	65	3	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
9	6	9	4	104	9	9	9	—	—	—	Given Captain Sadlington	1670
7	0	7	0	33	3	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
9	4	9	9	108	8	8	10	—	—	—	Disposed of to Mr. Pepys towards satisfaction for disbursements, October	1667
7	6	7	4	62	8	8	10	—	—	—	Sold as useless December	1667
6	0	5	6	68	6	6	10	—	—	—	Burnt by the Dutch at Chatham, June	1667
8	2	8	4	58	5	5	5	—	—	—	Returned to her owners with freight, January	$166\frac{7}{8}$

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions	
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel	Breadth by the beam
		Where	By whom				Ft. In.	Ft. In.
	Samuel of Strood	—	—	—	Bought	1667	40 0	16 6
	Transporter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unity horseboat	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1665	50 0	16 0
	Young King hoy	—	—	Dutch	—	1665	57 0	18 4
	Hulks							
	Alphin	—	—	Dutch	—	1673	120 0	33 6
	America	—	—	—	Bought	1678	111 0	27 6
	Armes of horn	—	—	—	,,	1673	106 0	30 3
	Armes of Rotterdam	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1675	119 0	39 6
	Eagle	—	—	Spanish	—	1588	100 0	41 0
	Elias	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	90 0	27 0
	Estridge	—	—	,,	—	1653	116 0	36 3
	Europa	—	—	,,	—	1673	113 0	26 0
	Fellowship	—	—	—	—	1644	110 0	26 0
	French Ruby	—	—	—	From a 2nd-rate	1686	112 0	38 0
	Gallion	—	—	Spanish	—	1655	90 0	34 6
	Gloucester	—	—	—	Bought	1680	—	—
	Leopard	—	—	—	From a 4th-rate	1686	109 0	33 9
	Rosebush	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1664	84 0	24 6
	Slothany	—	—	—	From a 3rd-rate	1667	112 0	36 0
	Stathouse van harlem	—	—	—	From a 4th-rate	1669	90 0	30 4
	Storke	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	97 0	27 9
	Violet	—	—	Dutch	—	1653	98 0	28 0
	Maria	—	—	Salley: employed at Gibraltar	—	1684	—	—
	Ketches							
	Colchester	Colchester	John Allin	—	—	1664	48 0	16 10
	Deptford	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1665	52 0	18 0
	Eaglet	Horsely-downe	Mr. Higgins	—	—	1655	40 0	16 0
	Giles	—	—	—	Bought	1661	37 0	15 6
	Hawke	Woolwich	Mr. Cooper	—	—	1655	42 0	16 0
	Hinde	Wivenhoe	Mr. Page	—	—	1655	41 0	16 0
	Kingfisher	—	—	—	Bought	1684	47 9	15 6
	Nonsuch	Wivenhoe	Mr. Page	—	—	1650	36 0	15 0
	Portsmouth	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippets	—	—	1665	48 0	18 10
	Quaker	—	—	—	Bought	1671	54 0	18 2
	Roe	Wivenhoe	Mr. Page, per contract	—	—	1665	50 0	18 6

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
			Men			Guns				
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Peace every-where	War		Peace every-where	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
8 2	8 4	58	5	5	5	—	—	—	Returned to her owners with freight, January	166⅞
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 0	5 6	68	4	4	4	—	—	—	—	—
9 7	9 2	102	6	6	6	—	—	—	Given Commissioner Pett	1666
12 0	19 0	716	4	4	4	—	—	—	—	—
14 5	15 8	446	20	20	20	—	—	—	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
12 0	18 0	516	8	8	8	—	—	—	—	—
18 9	18 6	987	7	7	7	—	—	—	—	—
12 10	19 0	894	2	2	2	—	—	—	Laid ashore for age at the N. end of Chatham Dock, 1675, and sold December	1683
10 0	12 8	350	2	2	2	—	—	—	Sold as useless, August	1684
17 0	19 0	811	2	2	2	—	—	—	Cast, and sunk to secure the graving-place at Portsmouth	1679
10 4	13 0	406	20	20	20	—	—	—	Burnt at Malta	1675
10 5	11 8	395	2	2	2	—	—	—	Sold in July	1662
16 6	18 6	868	20	20	20	—	—	—	—	—
12 8	14 0	570	2	2	2	—	—	—	Laid to secure the graving-place at Portsmouth, August	1670
—	—	500	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sunk at Tanger, December	1683
15 0	17 2	645	20	20	20	18	18	18	—	—
11 6	14 0	268	2	2	2	—	—	—	Sold as useless, November	1668
16 10	18 0	772	7	7	7	—	—	—	Ordered to be sold, January	168⅚
11 6	15 0	440	4	4	4	—	—	—	—	—
12 6	11 9	397	2	2	2	—	—	—	Sold, November	1663
12 6	11 0	409	2	2	2	—	—	—	Broke up for age	1672
—	—	120	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 0	9 6	72	25	35	45	8	8	8	Taken by the French; she being bound to the North-West Passage, March	1667
9 4	8 4	89	30	40	50	10	10	10	—	—
7 0	8 0	54	12	35	40	8	8	8	Sold, May	1674
6 0	6 6	48	12	30	40	2	2	2	Sold, October	1667
8 0	8 0	57	12	30	40	6	6	8	Sold, October	1667
8 0	7 0	55½	12	24	35	6	6	8	Cast away off of Scilly, December	1667
8 5½	7 3	61	15	15	15	4	4	4	—	—
7 0	6 6	43	12	24	35	6	6	8	Sold, November	1667
9 1	8 6	90	25	35	45	8	8	10	Made a pink	1670
9 0	9 6	80	30	40	50	10	10	10	—	—
8 6	7 6	91	25	35	45	8	8	8	Cast away near Teriff, March	1670

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
	Roe kitchen .	Wivenhoe	Mr. Page	—	—	1655	41	0	16	0
	Swallow . .	—	—	—	Bought	1661	40	0	16	0
	Wivenhoe . . .	Wivenhoe	Mr. Page	—	—	166$\frac{8}{8}$	52	0	19	1
	Pinks									
	Blackmore . .	Chatham	Capt. John Taylor	—	—	1656	47	0	19	0
	Chestnut . . .	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippets	—	—	1656	45	0	18	6
	Lyme . . .	—	—	Duke of Monmouth	—	1685	60	0	19	3
	Portsmouth . .	—	—	—	From a ketch	1665	48	0	18	10
	Rose	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1655	50	0	14	6
	Sparrow . . .	—	—	Dutch	—	1652	50	0	14	9
	Swallow . . .	Deptford	Mr. Callice	—	—	1657	50	0	14	6
	Weymouth . .	—	—	King's	—	1646	64	0	19	0
	Wivenhoe . . .	—	—	—	From a ketch	166$\frac{8}{9}$	52	0	19	1
	Pontoons									
	Tangier-pontoon .	Tangier	Sir Henry Sheer	—	—	1680	70	0	14	0
	Saietty									
	Tripoly-saietty . .	—	—	Tripoly	—	1676	—		—	
	Sloops									
	Bonetta . . .	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	61	0	13	0
	Chatham . . .	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	57	6	12	10
	Chatham double .	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	57	6	12	10
	Cutter . . .	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1673	60	0	12	0
	Dolphin . . .	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1673	54	0	14	6
	Dove	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1672	40	0	9	10
	Dunkirk . . .	—	—	Dunkirk	—	1656	40	0	12	6
	Emsworth . . .	Emsworth	Mr. John Smith	—	—	1667	40	0	13	7
	Experiment . .	Greenwich	Jos. Lawrence	—	—	1677	35	0	11	6
	Hound . . .	Chatham	Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	57	6	12	10
	Hunter . . .	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1673	60	0	12	0
	Invention . . .	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1673	44	0	11	0
	Lilly	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1672	52	0	14	6
	Lizard . . .	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1673	47	0	12	6
	Portsmouth . .	Portsmouth	Sir John Tippetts	—	—	1667	40	0	14	0
	Prevention . .	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1672	60	0	12	0
	Spye	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1666	44	0	11	0
	Swallow . . .	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1672	50	0	16	0
	Tulip . . .	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1672	43	0	10	0
	Whipster brigantine .	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1672	58	0	14	6
	Vulture . . .	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1673	50	0	16	0
	Woolwich . . .	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	61	0	13	0
	Smacks									
	Bridget . . .	Deptford	Jonas Shish	—	—	1672	32	0	11	3
	Litle London	Chatham	Phineas Pett	—	—	1672	26	0	11	0

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions				Burden	Force						Exits	When
Depth in hold		Draught of water			Men			Guns				
					Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
						Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Tons								
8	0	7	0	55½	8	8	8	4	4	4	Made a kitchen, 1661, and given to Capt. Straughan, October	1669
8	0	8	0	54	12	15	40	6	6	6	Sold, May	1674
8	5	7	6	100	25	35	45	8	8	8	Made a pink, January	$166\frac{8}{9}$
8	6	9	0	90	26	40	50	12	12	14	Sold as useless, November	1667
8	9	8	4	81	26	40	50	8	8	8	Cast away at the East-Indies, Nov.	1665
7	6	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold	1685
9	1	8	6	90	25	35	50	6	6	6	Taken by the Dutch, October	1673
5	6	6	0	55	25	35	50	6	6	6	Given for a packet boat to Ireland	1661
6	4	6	2	58	25	35	50	6	6	6	Sold as useless, September	1661
7	6	6	0	56	25	35	50	6	6	6	Given for a packet boat to Ireland	1661
9	0	8	6	123	40	60	70	14	14	16	Sold as useless, September	1662
8	6	7	6	100	25	35	45	6	6	6	Made a fire-ship	1673
6	0	4	0	80	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—		—		50	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold as useless, 16 February	1682
5	0	4	6	57	10	10	10	4	4	4	—	—
5	0	4	0	50	10	10	10	4	4	4	Run ashore by slaves to be sent to Cadiz, in Tanger Bay	1677
5	0	4	0	50	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
5	0	4	6	46	10	10	12	2	2	2	Cast away at Deale, September	1673
5	6	5	0	60	10	10	36	2	2	2	Sunk in fight, August	1673
4	0	4	0	19	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
4	6	4	0	33	5	8	20	2	2	2	Sold in October	1660
4	9	5	0	39	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
6	4	5	0	24	10	10	10	4	4	4	Given Sir Thomas Allin, April	1680
5	0	4	0	50	10	10	10	4	4	4	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
5	0	4	6	46	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
5	0	4	0	28	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
5	6	5	0	58	12	18	23	6	6	6	Cast away at sea	1673
4	9	5	0	39	15	25	30	4	4	4	Taken by the Dutch, February	1673
7	0	5	10	43	18	24	28	4	4	4	Taken by the Dutch, July	1672
5	0	4	6	46	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
4	0	4	4	28	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
6	0	5	0	68	15	20	25	2	2	2	Cast away at sea	1673
4	0	4	0	22	15	20	25	2	2	2	Cast away at sea	1673
5	0	4	6	64	10	10	10	4	4	4	Sold as useless, December	1683
6	0	5	0	68	10	10	10	4	4	4	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
5	0	4	6	57	10	10	10	4	4	4	Cast away in a hurricane at Barbadoes	1675
5	6	4	6	21	2	2	2	—	—	—	Sold as useless, December	1683
5	8	4	0	16½	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—

Dimensions, Men, and Guns of the Royal Navy of

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom							
							Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
	Royal Escape	—	—	—	Bought of Captain Tettersel	1660	30	6	14	3
	Sheernesse	Chatham	Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	28	0	11	0
	Swann	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1666	36	0	11	3
	Tower	—	—	—	Exchanged for the Charles Yacht with officers of the ordnance	1668	32	0	13	4
	Young Shish	Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1673	28	0	11	0
	Tow-boats									
	Chatham-towboat, a double bottom	Pitch-house	Jonas Shish	—	—	1683	76	0	9	6 each
	Yachts									
	Anne	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1661	52	0	19	0
	Bezan	—	—	—	Given to his Majesty by the Dutch	1661	34	0	14	0
	Charles	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1662	36	0	14	2
	Charles	Rotherif	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1675	54	0	20	6
	Charlot	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1677	61	0	21	0
	Cleaueland	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1671	53	4	19	4
	Deale	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1673	32	0	13	0
	Fubbs	Greenwich	Sir Phineas Pett	—	—	1682	63	0	21	0
	Henrietta	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	—	—	1663	52	0	19	5
	Henrietta	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	—	—	1679	65	0	21	8
	Jemmy	Lambeth	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1662	31	0	12	6
	Isabella	Greenwich	Sir Phineas Pett	—	—	1683	60	0	18	11
	Isabella Bezan	Chatham	Sir Phineas Pett	—	—	1680	46	0	16	0
	Isle of Wight	Portsmouth	Mr. Furzer	—	—	1673	31	0	12	6
	Katherine	Deptford	Commissioner Pett	—	—	1661	49	0	19	0
	Katherine	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1674	56	0	21	4
	Kitchin	Roderith	Mr. Castle	—	—	1670	52	0	19	6
	Mary	—	—	—	Given to the king by the Dutch	1660	52	0	19	0
	Mary	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1677	66	6	21	6
	Merlin	Roderith	Mr. Jonas Shish	—	—	1666	53	0	19	6
	Minion	—	—	—	—	—	28	0	12	4
	Monmouth	Roderith	Mr. William Castle	—	—	1666	52	0	19	6
	Navy	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	—	—	1673	48	0	17	6
	Portsmouth	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1674	57	0	20	6
	Quinborow	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	—	—	1671	31	6	13	4
	Richmond	—	—	—	Bought	1672	45	0	16	6

England from May 1660 to 25 March, 1686—*continued*

Dimensions			Force							
			Men			Guns			Exits	When
Depth in hold	Draught of water	Burden	Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
7 9	7 0	34	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
6 0	5 6	18	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
5 2	4 10	24	5	5	5	—	—	—	Taken by the Dutch, October	1673
5 6	5 0	30	3	3	3	4	4	4	Sold as useless, May	1674
4 6	4 0	24	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
4 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 0	7 0	100	20	20	30	6	6	8	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
7 0	3 6	35	4	4	4	4	4	4	—	—
7 0	6 0	38	10	10	10	6	6	6	Exchanged with the office of the ordnance for the Tower smack, November	1668
7 9	7 8	120	20	20	30	6	6	8	Cast away on the coast of Holland, November	1678
9 0	7 10	142	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
7 6	7 6	107	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
6 0	5 8	28	4	4	4	4	4	4	Ordered to be sold, May	1686
9 6	7 10	148	30	30	30	10	10	12	—	—
7 0	7 0	104	20	20	30	6	6	8	Sunk in the engagement, August	1673
8 3	8 9	162	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
6 0	3 6	25	4	4	4	4	4	4	—	—
8 11½	7 9	114	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
—	—	52	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ordered to be sold to Sir Phineas Pet, April	1683
6 0	6 0	25	5	5	5	4	4	4	—	—
7 0	7 0	94	20	20	30	8	8	8	Taken by the Dutch, August	1673
8 6	7 9	135	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
8 6	8 0	103	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
7 7	10 0	100	20	20	30	8	8	8	Cast away near Holyhead, on the Sherrys	1675
8 9	7 6	166	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
6 0	7 4	109	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
4 9	4 0	22	4	4	4	2	2	2	Sold as useless, November	1669
8 0	7 3	103	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
7 7	7 1	74	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
7 4	7 6	133	20	20	30	6	6	8	—	—
6 6	5 10	29	4	4	4	4	4	4	—	—
9 0	7 6	64	20	20	30	6	6	8	Ordered to be sold or broke up, April	1685

An Abstract of the foregoing Register, comprehending all additions, diminutions, and alterations happening therein between May 1660 and 25 March, 1686.

Ships and Vessels	Rate	No.
Ships of war, viz. of the	1	13
	2	25
	3	53
	4	84
	5	59
	6	41
Doggers		29
Fire-ships		111
Fly-boats		29
Galliots and hoys		22
Hulks		19
Ketches		14
Pinks		9
Pontoons		1
Saiettys		1
Sloops		22
Smacks		7
Tow-boats		1
Yachts		26
Total		566

The Royal Navy of England as (after twenty-six years' variations from Anno 1660) it stood upon 25 March, 1686.

1st Rates

Andrew, St.
Britania
Charles
Charles Royall
James Royall
London
Michael, St.
Prince Royall
SoveraigneRoyall

2nd Rates

Albemarle
Coronation
Duke
Dutchesse
George, St.
Katherine Royall
Neptune
Ossory
Sandwich
Tryumph
Vantguard
Victory
Unicorne
Windsor Castle

3rd Rates

Anne
Berwick
Breda
Burford
Cambridge
Captaine
Defiance
Dreadnought
Dunkirke
Eagle
Edgar
Elizabeth
Essex
Exeter
Expedition
Grafton
Hampton Court
Harwich
Henrietta
Hope
Kent
Lenox
Lyon
Mary
Monke
Monmouth
Mountague
Northumberland
Oake Royall
Pendennis
Plymouth
Resolution
Restoration
Rupert
Sterling Castle
Suffolke
Swiftsure
Warspight
Yorke

4th Rates

Adventure
Advice
Anthelope
Assistance
Assurance
Bonadventure
Bristoll
Centurion
Charles galley
Constant Warwick
Crowne

The Royal Navy of England, &c.—*continued*

David, St.
Diamond
Dover
Dragon
Faulcon
Foresight
Golden Horse
Greenwich
Hampshire
Happy Returne
James galley
Jersey
Kingfisher
Mary Rose
Mordaunt
New Castle
Nonsuch
Oxford
Phœnix
Portland
Portsmouth
Reserve
Ruby
Swallow
Sweepstakes
Tiger
Tiger prize
Two Lyons
Woolwich

5th Rates

Dartmouth
Guardland
Guernsey
Helderenberg
Mermayd
Orange Tree
Paule, St.
Pearle
Richmond
Rose
Saphire
Swann

6th Rates

Drake
Dunbarton
Fanfan
Greyhound
Half Moon
Larke
Rose
Saudadoes
Sophia

Fire-ships

Eagle
Golden-rose
Peace
Sampson
Young Spragg

Hoys

Lighter
Mary-gold
Transporter
Unity horseboat

Hulks

Alphin
Armes of Horne
Armes of Rotterdam
French Ruby
Leopard
Maria
Stathouse Vanharlem

Ketches

Deptford
Kingfisher
Quaker

Pontoons

Tangier-pontoon

Sloops

Bonetta

Smacks

Little London
Royall Escape
Sheerness
Young Shish

Tow-boats

Chatham-towboat

Yachts

Bezan
Charlotte
Cleveland
Fubbs
Henrietta
Jemmy
Isabella
Isle of Wight
Katherine
Kitchin
Mary
Merlin
Monmouth
Navy
Portsmouth
Quinbrough

An Abstract of the Royal Navy of England, 25 March, 1686.

—	Rate	No.
Ships of war, viz. of the	1	9
	2	14
	3	39
	4	40
	5	12
	6	9
Fire-ships		5
Hoys		4
Hulks		7
Ketches		3
Pontoons		1
Sloops		1
Smacks		4
Tow-boats		1
Yachts		16
Total		165

A List of the Ships and Vessels of the Royal Navy of England, on
between 25 March, 1686,

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions			
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel		Breadth by the beam	
		Where	By whom				Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
1	Charles	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
1	*George, St.*	—	—	—	Formerly the Charles	—	—		—	
2	George, St.	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
2	Triumph	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
2	Unicorn	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
4	Adventure	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
4	*Albans, St.*	Deptford	John Shish	—	—	168$\frac{6}{7}$	100	0	32	10½
4	*Deptford*	Woolwich	Thomas Shish	—	—	1687	100	0	33	6
4	Golden Horse	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
4	*Mary galley*	Cuckold's Point	John Deane	—	—	1687	104	0	29	6
4	*Sedgemore*	Chatham	Robert Lee	—	—	1687	109	0	34	6
4	Two-Lions	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Dartmouth	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Guardland	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Guernsey	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Helderenberg	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Mermaid	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Orange-tree	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Paul, St.	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Pearl	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Richmond	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
5	Swan	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
6	Halfe-moon	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
6	Rose	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
6	Sophia	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	
	Bombers									
	Fire-Drake	Deptford	Fisher Harding	—	—	1688	66	0	24	2
	Portsmouth	Deptford	Fisher Harding	—	From a yacht	1688	59	0	21	4
	Salamander	Chatham	Robert Lee	—	—	1687	63	3	21	6
	Fire-ships									
	Cadiz-Merchant	—	—	—	Bought December	1688	—		—	
	Charles	—	—	—	Bought August	1688	—		—	
	Charles and Henry	—	—	—	Bought September	1688	—		—	
	Cygnet	—	—	—	Bought August	1688	—		—	
	Dartmouth	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—		—	
	Elizabeth and Sarah	—	—	—	Bought August	1688	—		—	
	Golden Rose	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	

which any alteration (either as to number, rate, or quality) happened and 18 December, 1688.

Dimensions		Burden	Force						Exits	When
			Men			Guns				
				War			War			
Depth in hold	Draught of water		Peace everywhere	Abroad	At home	Peace everywhere	Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	New-named the *St. George*, October	1687
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a hulk, October	1687
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold to the office of the ordnance, January	168$\frac{7}{8}$
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold, January	168$\frac{7}{8}$
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold, January	168$\frac{7}{8}$
13 3	15 9	615	185	240	280	44	44	50	—	—
13 11	15 6	644	185	240	280	44	44	50	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sunk for a fence to the mast-dock at Chatham, August	1688
11 0	12 6	480	200	200	200	34	34	34	—	—
13 7	15 6	677	185	240	280	44	44	50	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold, January	168$\frac{7}{8}$
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, August	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, August	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, August	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a hospital ship, October	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, October	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold, December	1687
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, April	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, August	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, August	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, August	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, June	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, June	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a fire-ship, June	1688
10 0	11 6	205	50	50	50	12 and 2 mortars	12 and 2 mortars	12 and 2 mortars	—	—
9 0	9 0	142	30	30	30	2 and 2 mortars	2 and 2 mortars	2 and 2 mortars	—	—
8 9	9 1½	110	35	35	35	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	320	45	45	45	12	12	12	—	—
—	—	90	20	20	20	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	120	25	25	25	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	100	25	25	25	8	8	8	—	—
—	—	—	50	50	50	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	100	20	20	20	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold as unserviceable, December	1687

A List of the Ships and Vessels of the Royal Navy of England, on
between 25 March, 1686, and

Rate	Ships	Original					Dimensions	
		Built		Taken	Mixed	When	Length by the keel	Breadth by the beam
		Where	By whom					
							Ft. In.	Ft. In.
	Guardland . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Guernsey . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Halfe-Moon . .	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1688	—	—
	Mermaid . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Owners Love . .	—	—	—	Bought December	1688	—	—
	Paul, St. . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Peace . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pearl . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Richard and John .	—	—	—	Bought November	1688	—	—
	Richmond . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Roebuck . . .	—	—	—	Bought August	1688	—	—
	Rose . . .	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1688	—	—
	Sophia . . .	—	—	—	From a 6th-rate	1688	—	—
	Speedwell . .	—	—	—	Bought August	1688	—	—
	Supply . . .	—	—	—	Bought November	1688	—	—
	Swan . . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Thomas and Elizabeth	—	—	—	Bought November	1688	—	—
	Unity . . .	—	—	—	Bought October	1688	—	—
	Hospital							
	Helderenberg . .	—	—	—	From a 5th-rate	1688	—	—
	Hoys							
	Delight . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Nonsuch . . .	Portsmouth	Mr. Lucas	—	—	1686	53 8¾	18 10½
	Hulks							
	Alphen . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	George, St. . .	—	—	—	From a 2nd-rate	1687	—	—
	Sloop							
	Bonetta . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Yachts							
	Bezan . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Portsmouth . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

which any alteration (either as to number, rate, or quality) happened 18 December, 1688—*continued*

Dimensions			Force						Exits	When
			Men			Guns				
Depth in hold	Draught of water	Burden	Peace everywhere	War		Peace everywhere	War			
				Abroad	At home		Abroad	At home		
Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Tons								
—	—	—	45	45	45	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	—	45	45	45	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	—	25	35	35	8	8	8	—	—
—	—	—	50	50	50	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	217	40	40	40	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	—	30	45	45	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold as unserviceable, December	1687
—	—	—	45	45	45	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	160	40	40	40	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	80	45	45	45	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	80	16	16	16	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	—	22	32	32	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	90	22	22	22	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	120	25	25	25	8	8	8	—	—
—	—	70	25	25	25	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	—	50	50	50	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	184	40	40	40	10	10	10	—	—
—	—	120	25	25	25	6	6	6	—	—
—	—	—	50	50	50	—	—	—	Sunk in the Channel by the Bonadventure, the fleet tacking in the night and the weather foul	1688
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 4¾	—	100	5	5	5	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ordered to be sold, October	1687
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sold, December	1687
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Broke up at Deptford, December	1687
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Made a bomber, June	1688

An Abstract of the last foregoing List of additions diminutions, and alterations happening between 25 March, 1686, and 18 December, 1688, with one account of the whole from 1660 to 1688.

——	Rate	Between 1686 and 1688	Between 1660 and 1688
Ships of war, viz. of the	1	2	15
	2	3	28
	3	—	53
	4	6	90
	5	10	69
	6	3	44
Bombers		3	3
Doggers		—	29
Fire-ships		25	136
Fly-boats		—	29
Galliots and Hoys		—	22
Hospital ships		1	1
Hoys		2	2
Hulks		2	21
Ketches		—	14
Pinks		—	9
Pontoons		—	1
Saiettys		—	1
Sloops		1	23
Smacks		—	7
Tow-boats		—	1
Yachts		2	28
Total		60	626

The Royal Navy of England, as (after twenty-eight years' variations from the year 1660) it stood upon 18 December, 1688, the day of King James's withdrawing.

1st Rates

Andrew, St.
Britannia
Charles Royall
George, St.
James Royall
London
Michael, St.
Prince
Soveraign

2nd Rates

Albemarl
Coronation
Duke
Dutchess
Katherine
Neptune
Ossory
Sandwich
Vanguard
Victory
Windsor-Castle

3rd Rates

Ann
Berwick
Bredah
Burford
Cambridge
Captain
Defiance
Dreadnought
Dunkirk
Eagle
Edgar
Elizabeth
Essex
Exeter
Expedition
Grafton
Hampton Court
Harwich
Henrietta
Hope
Kent
Lenox
Lion
Mary
Monk
Monmouth
Mountagu
Northumberland
Oak Royal
Pendennis
Plymouth
Resolution
Restauration
Rupert
Sterling-Castle
Suffolk
Swiftsure
Warspight
York

4th Rates

Advice
Albans, St.
Anthelope
Assistance
Assurance

The Royal Navy of England, &c.—*continued*

Bonadventure
Bristoll
Centurion
Charles galley
Constant Warwick
Crown
David, St.
Deptford
Diamond
Dover
Dragon
Faulcon
Foresight
Greenwich
Hampshire
Happy Return
James galley
Jersey
Kingfisher
Mary galley
Mary-Rose
Mordaunt
Newcastle
Nonsuch
Oxford
Phoenix
Portland
Portsmouth
Reserve
Ruby
Sedgemore
Swallow
Sweepstakes
Tiger
Tiger prize
Woolwich

5th Rates

Rose
Saphire

6th Rates

Drake
Dunbarton
Fanfan
Greyhound
Lark
Saudadoes

Bombers

Fire-Drake
Portsmouth
Salamander

Fire-ships

Cadiz-Merchant
Charles
Charles and Henry
Cignet
Dartmouth
Eagle
Elizabeth and Sarah
Guardland
Guernsey
Halfe-Moon
Mermaid
Owners Love
Paul, St.
Pearl
Richard and John
Richmond
Roe-buck
Rose
Sampson
Sophia
Speedwell
Supply
Swan
Thomas and Elizabeth
Unity
Young Sprag

Hoys

Delight
Lighter
Marigold
Nonsuch
Transporter
Unity horse-boat

Hulks

Arms of Horn
Arms of Rotterdam
French Ruby
George, St.
Leopard
Maria
Stadthuys Van Harlem

Ketches

Deptford
Kingfisher
Quaker

Pontoons

Tangier pontoon

Smacks

Escape Royal
Little London
Sheerness
Shish

Tow-boats

Chatham-tow-boat

Yachts

Charlotte
Cleveland
Fubbs
Henrietta
Jemmy
Isabella
Isle of Wight
Katherine
Kitchin
Mary
Merlin
Monmouth
Navy
Quinbrough

An Abstract of the Royal Navy of England, 18 December, 1688.

——	Rate	Number
Ships of war, viz. of the	1	9
	2	11
	3	39
	4	41
	5	2
	6	6
Bombers		3
Fire-ships		26
Hoys		6
Hulks		7
Ketches		3
Pontoons		1
Smacks		4
Tow-boats		1
Yachts		14
Total . .		173

A Summary Comparison of the different states of the Royal Navy of England at and between every of the foregoing periods, as the same arises from the preceding abstracts.

Navy Royal		At the Restoration, Anno 1660	Between Anno 1660 and 25 Mar., 1686	Upon 25 Mar., 1686	Between 25 Mar., 1686, and 18 Dec., 1688	Between Anno 1660 and 18 Dec., 1688	Upon 18 Dec., 1688
Ships of Rate, viz.:	1	3	13	9	2	15	9
	2	11	25	14	3	28	11
	3	16	53	39	—	53	39
	4	45	84	40	6	90	41
	5	37	59	12	10	69	2
	6	23	41	9	3	44	6
Bombers . . .		—	—	—	3	3	3
Doggers . . .		—	29	—	—	29	—
Fire-ships . . .		—	111	5	24	135	26
Fly-boats . . .		—	29	—	—	29	—
Galliots and Hoys .		—	22	—	—	22	—
Hospital ships . .		—	—	—	1	1	—
Hoys . . .		1	—	4	2	2	6
Hulks . . .		7	19	7	2	21	8
Ketches . . .		5	14	3	—	14	3
Pinks . . .		6	9	—	—	9	—
Pontoons . . .		—	1	1	—	1	—
Saiettys . . .		—	1	—	—	1	—
Sloops . . .		1	22	1	1	23	—
Smacks . . .		—	7	4	—	7	5
Tow-boats . . .		—	1	1	—	1	—
Yachts . . .		1	26	16	2	28	14
Total . .		156	566	165	59	625	173

Memorandum

That for the rendering the last preceding List (p. 302) completely expressive of the state of the whole navy of England at the conjuncture there mentioned, viz. December 1688, I here subjoin the printed table in my *Naval Memoirs*, p. 178, showing (through all the principal circumstances of it) the particular condition wherein every ship and vessel thereof then stood, with the united force of the whole.

[The printed tables from Pepys's *Memoirs of the Royal Navy* are pasted into the *Register* here, occupying three folio pages.]

Memorandum

That the number, rates and qualities of the ships and vessels contained in the preceding printed list and abstract agree in every respect with those in the written ones (p. 302), saving that the pontoon there is reckoned with the hulks here, and the tow-boat in that with the smacks in this.

A Schedule of the Ships of the Royal Navy found at the king's Restoration, May 1660, and subsisting therein (after 28 years' service), in December 1688, with a view (in abstract) of the whole.

Rate	Names		Year	
	Reformed	Old	of their building	of their age, 1688
1st	*Soveraign*		1637	51
2nd	*George*		1622	66
	Victory		1620	68
3rd	*Dreadnought*	Torrington	1653	35
	Dunkirk	Worcester	1651	37
	Henrietta	Lamport	1653	35
	Lion		1640	48
	Mary	Speaker	1649	39
	Monk		1659	29
	Mountague	Lyme	1654	34
	Plymouth		1653	35
	York	Marston-Moore	1654	34
4th	*Advice*		1650	38
	Anthelope	Preston	1653	35
	Assistance		1650	38
	Assurance		1646	42
	Bonadventure	President	1649	39
	Bristoll		1653	35
	Centurion		1650	38
	Constant Warwick		1646	42
	Crown	Taunton	1653	35
	Diamond		1651	37
	Dover		1654	34
	Dragon		1647	41
	Foresight		1650	38
	Hampshire		1653	35
	Happy Return	Winsby	1654	34
	Jersey		1654	34
	Mary-Rose	Maidstone	1653	35
	Newcastle		1653	35
	Portland		1652	36
	Portsmouth		1649	39
	Reserve		1650	38
	Ruby		1651	37
	Swallow	Gainsborough	1653	35
	Tiger		1647	41
5th	*Dartmouth*		1655	33
	Eagle	Selby	1654	34
	Guardland	Grantham	1654	34
	Guernsey	Basing	1654	34
	Mermaid		1651	37
	Pearl		1651	37
	Richmond	Wakefield	1655	33
6th	*Drake*		1652	36
Hoy	*Marigold*		1653	35

One General View, December 1688, of the Ships found in the Navy at the king's Restoration, May 1660.

Ships and Vessels		Anno 1660	Whereof	
			Extinguished	Resting 1688
	Rate	No.	No.	No.
Ships of war, viz. of the	1	3	2	1
	2	11	9	2
	3	16	7	9
	4	45	21	24
	5	37	30	7
	6	23	22	1
Hoys		1	—	1
Hulks		7	7	—
Ketches		5	5	—
Pinks		6	6	—
Sloops		1	1	—
Yachts		1	1	—
Total		156	111	45

Memorandum

That the George in the foregoing schedule is now from a 2nd rate reduced to a hulk, and all the 5th rates to fire-ships.

One General View of the Different States of the Royal Navy of England, as to Number, Burden, Men, and Guns, between that found by K. Charles 2^{d} May 1660, and that left by K. James 2^{d} December 1688.

Ships and Vessels	Rate	No.		Tons		Men		Guns	
		1660	1688	1660	1688	1660	1688	1660	1688
Ships of the	1	3	9	4,078	12,756	1,600	6,705	260	878
	2	11	11	9,307	15,302	3,480	7,010	658	974
	3	16	39	11,529	37,832	3,520	16,525	820	2,640
	4	45	41	21,597	21,945	5,980	9,440	1,718	1,914
	5	37	2	9,096	562	3,375	260	832	60
	6	23	6	2,293	839	1,135	420	252	90
Bombers		—	3	—	457	—	115	—	20 and 4 mort^{rs}
Fire-ships		—	26	—	4,762	—	925	—	224
Hoys		1	6	33	266	3	15	—	—
Hulks		7	7	3,826	4,467	14	59	—	18
Ketches		5	3	300	230	175	115	38	24
Pinks		6	—	480	—	260	—	60	—
Pontoons		—	1	—	80	—	—	—	—
Sloops		1	—	33	—	5	—	2	—
Smacks		—	4	—	92	—	8	—	—
Tow-boats		—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yachts		1	14	22	1,442	4	343	2	104
Total		156	173	62.594	101,032	19,551	41,940	4,642	6,950 and 4 mort^{rs}

Sea-Commission Officers. My Naval Register relating to the 3 following Particulars, viz.: 1. The Execution of the Office of High Admiral; 2. The Flag-officers charged with the Fleets; and 3. The Commanders and Lieutenants of all single Ships employed in the Service of the Crown Between the Restoration of King Charles the Second, May 1660, and the Withdrawing of his Royal Brother and Successor King James the Second, December 1688. Begun and closed with particular Lists of the Officers actually in Commission at each of the said Periods.

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A General List of the Sea-Commanders of England in actual Commission (General Mountagu, Admiral) at the Restoration of K. Charles II, viz. in the months of May and June 1660, with the particular ship commanded by each.

Commanders	Ships' Names		Rate
	Old	New	
Abelson, John	Grantham	Guardland	5
Allin, Fran.	Advice		4
Ames, Joseph	Winsby	Happy Return	4
Archer, Antº	Forrester		5
Ashford, Andrew	Hawk ketch		6
Aylett, John	Coventry		5
Barker, Willᵐ	Litchfield	Happy Entrance	5
Beer, John	Cygnet		6
Bevans, Rowlᵈ	Convert		5
Blake, Robᵗ	Newbury	Revenge	3
Blake, Samˡ	Colchester		5
Bowen, Peter	Bradford	Success	5
Bowry, John	Drake		6
Bowry, Thomˢ	Roe ketch		6
Brown, Nathanˡ	Taunton	Crown	4
Bunn, Thomas	Essex		3
Burroughs, Willᵐ	Martin		6
Butler, Peter	Marmaduke		4
Clark, Robert	Speaker	Mary	3
Clay, Robert	Saphire		4
Coppin, John	Lamport	Henrietta	3
Countrey, Jeremy	Greyhound		6
Countrey, Richᵈ	Hind ketch		6
Cowes, Richᵈ	Paradox		6
Curle, Edmᵈ	Mary prize		6
Curtis, Edmᵈ	Newcastle		4
Cuttle, John	Oxford		5
Cuttance, Roger	Nazeby	Charles Royal	1
Dale, Willᵐ	Francis		6
Dare, Jefferey	Great Guift		5
Duck, Robert	Hunter		6
Ducy, Richᵈ	Lizard		5
Erning, Antº	Worcester	Dunkirk	3
Fenn, Henry	Bristoll		4
Firmase, Benjaⁿ	Henrietta pinnace		6
,, ,,	True Love		6
Fleet, Thomˢ	Success		5
Foot, Peter	Mermaid		5
Gilpin, Bernᵈ	Namptwich	Bredah	4
Grimsditch, John	Elizabeth		4
Grove, Edwᵈ	Merlin		6
Grove, John	Pembroke		5

Sea-Commanders in Commission at the Restoration—*continued*

Commanders	Ships' Names		Rate
	Old	New	
Haddock, Rich^{d}	Dragon		4
Hanham, Willoughby	Kent		4
Harman, John	Torrington	Dreadnought	3
Harrison, Mark	Elias		4
Hawley, Seth	Rosebush		5
Haytubb, Rob^{t}	Hector		5
Hayward, John	Plymouth		3
Heaton, Nichol^{s}	Gainsborough	Swallow	4
Higginson, Sam^{l}	Selby	Eagle	5
Hodges, Rich^{d}	Basing	Guernsey	5
Jeakin, John	Wolfe		6
Jowles, Valentine	Wexford	Dolphin	5
Kirby, Rob^{t}	Ruby		4
Land, Henry	Weymouth pink		6
Large, Thom^{s}	Lark		6
Lawson, John	London		2
Lightfoot, John	Nightingale		5
Mackey, Rob^{t}	Yarmouth		4
Martin, Rob^{t}	Dover		4
Middleton, Hugh	Guift		6
Mootham, Peter	Foresight		4
Morris, Thom^{s}	Sorlings		5
Mountagu, *Edw^{d}*, General in the	Nazeby	Charles Royal	1
Nixon, Edw^{d}	Phoenix		4
Nutton, Mich^{l}	Norwich		5
Park, Franc^{s}	Centurion		4
Parker, John	Nonsuch		4
,, ,,	Cherriton	Speedwell	5
Parker, Nich^{s}	Fagons	Milford	5
Pierce, John			6
Pittock, Rich^{d}	Swallow pink		6
Plumley, Rob^{t}	Reserve		4
Pointz, John	Wakefield	Richmond	5
Pomeroy, Thom^{s}	Maidstone	Mary Rose	4
Pool, Jonas	Leopard		4
Poory, Robert	Chessnut pink		6
Potter, Rich^{d}	President	Bonadventure	4
Reader, Godefroy	Eaglett ketch		6
Riveley, Anth^{o}	Bryer		5
Robinson, John	Preston	Anthelope	4
Rooth, Rich^{d}	Dartmouth		5
Sackler, Tobias	Blackmore pink		6
Sansum, Rob^{t}	Portsmouth		4
Saunders, Gabr^{l}	Tiger		4
Shelley, Giles	Providence		5
Sherland, Sam^{l}	Fox		6
Simonds, John	Jersey		4
Smith, Andr^{w}	Francis		6

Sea-Commanders in Commission at the Restoration—*continued*

Commanders	Ships' Names		Rate
	Old	New	
Sparling, Thom^{s}	Assistance		4
Stayner, S^{r} Rich^{d}	Swiftsure		3
Stokes, John	Richard	James Royal	2
Street, Rich^{d}	Hart		6
Taylor, John	Griffin		6
Tearn, Hen.	Hampshire		4
Tiddiman, Thom^{s}	Tredagh	Resolution	3
Totnell, Valentine	Adventure		4
Vessey, Rob^{t}	Constant Warwick		4
Wager, Char.	Yarmouth		4
Waltham, Jonat^{n}	Nonsuch ketch		6
Wilgress, John	Bear		4
Wilkinson, Robert	Satisfaction		5
Wilks, Thom^{s}	Convertine		4
Wright, Thom^{s}	Fame		5
Wyard, Rob^{t}	Paul		5

An Account of the several methods of Execution of the Office of Lord High Admiral of England between the Restoration of King Charles the Second, May 1660, and the withdrawing of King James the Second, December 1688.

His Royal Highness James Duke of York, first destined to the office of Lord High Admiral of England in his nonage by his royal father, had the same executed for him (*ratione minoritatis*) by Algernon Earl of Northumberland by commission dated the 13th of April 1638, and was by the succeeding Rebellion further prevented in his coming to the personal execution thereof until the Restoration of his royal brother K. Charles the Second, when he became first possessed of the said office, viz. in July 1660, and was soon after confirmed therein by a Commission under the Great Seal the 29th of January following. In the exercise of which he continued till May 1673, when not submitting to the then Parliamentary Test he surrendered it (among other his offices) into the hands of the King his brother; where (assisted by a Commission consisting of—viz.

His Highness Prince Rupert
Earl of Shaftesbury, High Chancellor of England
Thomas, Lord Viscount Osborne, High Treasurer of England
Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, Keeper of the Privy Seal
} and these officers for the time being

George, Duke of Buckingham,
James, Duke of Monmouth,
John, Duke of Lauderdale,
James, Duke of Ormonde,
Henry, Earl of Arlington, Principal Secretary of State,
Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household,
H. Coventry, Esq., Principal Secretary of State,
Edward Seymour, Esq., and any three or more of them ;

and calling Mr. Pepys from his employment at the Navy Board to his service as Secretary therein) his Majesty was pleased (by various renewals of the said Commission upon change of hands) to keep it, till his Royal Highness (whose aid he still made use of) being commanded abroad about the end of 1678, and Mr. Pepys committed by the House of Commons to the Tower in the beginning of 1679, that Commission was (without any regular revocation) suppressed by another bearing date the 14th of May, 1679, constituting

Sir Henry Capel	Sir Humphrey Winch
Daniel Finch Esq.	Sir Thomas Meres
Sir Thomas Lee	Edward Vaughan Esq.

Edward Hales Esq.

Commissioners for executing the whole office of High Admiral, without aught thereof reserved, as before, to the king. Which nevertheless (by like renewals) continued till May 1684, when his Majesty observing the state whereinto his Navy was by this time brought (both in its discipline and strength) was pleased by his letters patents of the 19th of May 1684 to repeal it, and resume the office of his High Admiral once more into his own hands, without any concurrent commission or other assistance than that of his royal brother now newly called home, and the remanding Mr. Pepys to his secretaryship; then first erecting the office of Secretary for the affairs of the Admiralty of England under his Great Seal dated the 10th of June 1684, and constituting him the first therein. In which state this great office of Lord High Admiral of England remained till the death of his Majesty the 6th of February following, and from thence so continued under his successor King James the Second to the 18th of December 1688, the day of his said Majesty's most unhappy withdrawing from the realm and (with it) the total determination also of Mr. Pepys's service therein.

An Alphabetical List of all the Flag-officers serving the Crown under the Lord High Admiral of England between the Restoration of King Charles the Second, May 1660, and the withdrawing of His Royal Brother and Successor King James the Second, December 1688, with the respective Dates and Degrees of their several Commissions.

Person	Office	Date of Commission			Notes
		Day	Month	Year	
Albemarle, Duke	Admiral of his Majesty's Fleet in conjunction with Prince Rupert	.	. .	1666	Dead
Allin, Sir Thomas	Commander-in-Chief in the Downs with the Union flag at the main-top	.	. .	1663	
	Do.	.	. .	1664	
	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet in the Channel under the Earl of Sandwich	.	. .	1664	
	Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1665	
	White	.	. .	1666	
	Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron sent to the Westward and to wear the Union flag at the main-top	.	. .	1667	
	Admiral of a Fleet on a foreign expedition	.	. .	1667	
	in the Channel	.	. .	1668	
	to the Streights	.	. .	1669	
	in the Narrow Seas	12	Mar.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Ayscue, Sir George	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet under the Earl of Sandwich	.	. .	1664	
	Do. of the Blue	.	. .	1665	
	Red	.	. .	1665	
	Blue	.	. .	1666	
	Red	.	. .	1672	Dead
Beach, Sir Richard	Rear-Admiral of the Fleet in the Streights	.	. .	1670	
	Blue	.	. .	1672	
Berkeley, John, Lord	Rear-Admiral of the Fleet employed in the Narrow Seas under and by the Lord Dartmouth	14	Dec.	1688	
Berkeley, Sir William	Rear-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1665	
	Vice-Admiral of the White	.	. .	1665	
	Blue	.	. .	1666	Dead
Berry, Sir John	Rear-Admiral in the Narrow Seas under the Lord Dartmouth by the King	24	Sept.	1688	Dead
	Vice-Admiral do. by the Lord Dartmouth	13	Dec.		
Chicheley, Sir John	Vice-Admiral of a Fleet in the Streights	.	. .	1670	
	Rear-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1672	
		.	. .	1673	
Dartmouth, George, Lord	Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Squadron sent to demolish Tangier	2	Aug.	1683	
	Admiral of a Fleet in the Narrow Seas	24	Sept.	1688	
Davies, William	Rear-Admiral of the Fleet in the Narrow Seas for one day under and by the Lord Dartmouth	13	Dec.	1688	*Mem.* That the Ld Dartmouth gave him this Flag for one day only to preserve his right; the Lord John Berkeley having it the next day.
Grafton, Henry, Duke	Vice-Admiral of England	13	Jan.	$168\frac{2}{3}$	
	Admiral and Commander-in-Chief in the Narrow Seas	24	April	1683	
	Admiral of the Fleet sent with the Queen of Portugal and so to the Mediterranean	5	June	1687	
Harman, Sir John	Rear-Admiral of the White	.	. .	1665	
	Blue	.	. .	1665	
	Do.	.	. .	1666	

List of all the Flag-officers—*continued*

Person	Office	Date of Commission			Notes
		Day	Month	Year	
	Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron to the West Indies, wearing a flag at the main-top while out of the Channel	.	. .	1666	
	Rear-Admiral in the Streights	.	. .	1669	
	Do. of the Blue	.	. .	1672	
	Do. of the Red	.	. .	1672	
	Vice-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1672	
	Vice-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1673	
	Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1673	Dead
Herbert, Arthur	Vice-Admiral in the Streights under Sir John Narbrough	15	Feb.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
	Admiral and Commander-in-Chief against the Algereens	17	July	1680	
	Rear-Admiral of England	22	Jan.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
Holmes, Sir John	Rear-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1673	
	Commander-in-Chief in the Downs with the Union flag at the main-top	14	April	1677	
	Rear-Admiral of a Fleet in the Narrow Seas	.	. .	$167\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Holmes, Sir Robert	Commander of a Squadron to Guinny with the Union flag at the main-top while out of the Channel	.	. .	1661	
	Rear-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1666	
	Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron from Portsmouth, Isle of Wight and thereabouts, and to wear the Union flag at the mizzen-top	.	. .	1667	
Jorden, Sir Joseph	Rear-Admiral of the White	.	. .	1665	
	Rear-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1666	
	Vice-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1666	
	Rear-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1672	
	Vice-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1672	
	Vice-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1672	Died 1685
Kempthorne, Sir John	Rear-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1666	
	Do.	.	. .	1672	
	Rear-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1672	
	Vice-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1673	
	Vice-Admiral of a Fleet in the Narrow Seas	12	Mar.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Lawson, Sir John	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet	.	. .	1660	
	Do.	.	. .	1661	
	Admiral of a Fleet on a foreign expedition	.	. .	1662	
	Vice-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1664 & 1665	Dead
Marlbrough, Earl	Admiral of a Fleet bound to the East Indies	.	. .	1661	Dead
Mennes, *vide* Myngs, Sir John					
Myngs, Sir Christopher	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet under Prince Rupert	.	. .	1664	
	Do. of the White	.	. .	1665	
	Do. of the Blue	.	. .	1665	
	Do. of the Red	.	. .	1666	Dead
Myngs, Sir John	Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief in the Narrow Seas, and to wear a flag at the main-top in the absence of his Royal Highness and the Earl of Sandwich	.	. .	1661	Dead
Narbrough, Sir John	Rear-Admiral of the Red	17	Sept.	1673	
	Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron to the Streights and to wear the Union flag at the main-top while out of the Channel	18	Oct.	1674	
	Do.	30	June	1677	
	Admiral of a Fleet in the Streights	15	Feb.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	Dead

List of all the Flag-officers—*continued*

Person	Office	Date of Commission			Notes
		Day	Month	Year	
Ossory, Earl	Rear-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1673	
	Vice-Admiral of the Red	.	. .	1673	
	Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet in the absence of Prince Rupert, and to wear the Union flag at the main-top	.	. .	1673	Dead
Penn, Sir William	Admiral of the White	.	. .	1665	Dead
Rupert, Prince	Admiral of a Fleet bound on a foreign expedition	.	. .	1664	
	Do. of the White	.	. .	1665	
	Do. of his Majesty's Fleet jointly with the Duke of Albemarle	.	. .	1666	
	Vice-Admiral of England	.	. .	1672	
	Admiral of his Majesty's Fleet	.	. .	1673	Dead
Sandwich, Earl	Lieutenant-Admiral and Captain-General of the Narrow Seas	.	. .	1660	
	Admiral of a Fleet on a foreign expedition	.	. .	1661	
	his Majesty's Fleet	.	. .	1664	
	the Blue	.	. .	1665	
	his Majesty's Fleet	.	. .	1665	
	the Blue	.	. .	1672	Dead
Sansum, Robert	Rear-Admiral of a Fleet on a foreign expedition under Prince Rupert	.	. .	1664	
	Do. of the White	.	. .	1665	Dead
Smith, Sir Jeremy	Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron to the Streights, and to wear a flag at the main-top while out of the Channel	.	. .	1665	
	Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1666	
	Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron to the Northward, and to wear the Union flag at the fore-top	.	. .	1667	
	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet in the Channel	.	. .	1668	Died 1675
Spragg, Sir Edward	Vice-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1666	
	Commander-in-Chief in the Downs, and to wear a flag at the main-top	.	. .	1668	
	Vice-Admiral of a Fleet to the Streights under Sir Thomas Allin	.	. .	1669	
	Admiral of the Fleet in the Streights	.	. .	1670	
	Vice-Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1672	
	Red	.	. .	1672	
	Admiral of the Blue	.	. .	1672	
	Do.	.	. .	1673	Dead
Stayner, Sir Richard	Rear-Admiral of the Fleet	.	. .	1660	
	Do.	.	. .	1661	Dead
Strickland, Sir Roger	Rear-Admiral of the Fleet in the Streights under Sir John Narbrough	19	Feb.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet sent under the Duke of Grafton with the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon	4	July	1687	
	Rear-Admiral of England	30	Dec.	1687	
	Power to wear the Union flag at the mizen-top-mast-head with a pennant under it as Rear-Admiral of England	30	Jan.	168$\frac{7}{8}$	
	Vice-Admiral of the Fleet in the Narrow Seas under the Lord Dartmouth	24	Sept.	1688	
Teddeman, Sir Thomas	Rear-Admiral of a Fleet in the Channel under the Earl of Sandwich	.	. .	1664	
	Do. of the Blue	.	. .	1665	
	Red	.	. .	1665	
	White	.	. .	1665	
	Vice-Admiral of the White	.	. .	1665	Dead
Utber, Riches	Rear-Admiral of the White	.	. .	1666	Dead

An Alphabetical List of all the Commission-Officers, viz. Commanders and Lieutenants serving the Crown in the Royal Navy of England between the Restoration of King Charles the Second, May 1660, and the withdrawing of King James the Second, December 1688. With the respective Dates and Degrees of their several Commissions and the different Powers granting the same.

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Ableson, James	Captain	Beare	Royal Highness			1664	
		Expedition	Do.			1664	
		Guinny	Do.			1665	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 3 June, 1665
Ableson, Richard	Lieutenant	Leopard	P. Rupert, D. Alb.			1666	Dead
Acton, Adam	Lieutenant	Henrietta	Royal Highness			1660	
Acton, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Portland	Royal Highness			1661	
		Amity	Do.			1664	
Acton, Thomas	Lieutenant	Phoenix Merchant	P. Rupert			1672	
		Happy Return	King	30	April	1678	
Adams, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	King Fernando	Royal Highness			1665	
	First Lieutenant	Unicorne	Do.			1666	
Adden, John	Captain	Crown and Mary				1667	
Addersly, Joseph	Lieutenant	Bredah				1661	
	Captain	Mary yacht				1662	Dead
Ady, Henry	Lieutenant	Mountague	Royal Highness			1661	
		Phoenix	Do.			1663	
		Anthelope	Do.			1663	
		John and Abigail	Do.			1665	
		Castle frigate	Do.			1666	Dead
Aire, James	Captain	Deptford ketch	King	28	May	1678	Made uncapable to serve the king by a court-martial upon the loss of the Gloucester

Akarman, Steph^{n}	Captain	Sorlings	Royal Highness	18	Nov.	1665	
		Barnadiston hired	King	12	April	1678	
		Assurance	Commissioners	15	May	1680	
		Rupert	King	24	Sept.	1685	
		Greenwich	Do.	16	April	1687	
		Dreadnought	Do.	15	Sept.	1688	
Aldersay, Jos.	Lieutenant	Breda	Royal Highness			1661	
	Captain	Mary yacht	Do.			1662	Dead
Allen, Francis	Captain	Yorke	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Allen, Thomas	Third Lieutenant	Prince	P. Rupert			1673	
	Do.	Soveraigne				1673	
	Captain	Ruby	King	26	March	1678	
		Quaker ketch	Commissioners	6	Nov.	1683	
Allen, S^{r} Thom^{s} (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Dover	Royal Highness			1660	
		Plymouth	Do.			1661	
		Foresight	Do.			1661	
		Lyon	Do.			1662	
		Rainbow	Do.			1663	
		S^{t} Andrew	Do.			1663	
		Plymouth	Do.			1664	
		Old James	Do.			1665	
		Royall James	Do.			1665	
		Monmouth	Do.			1667	
		Resolution	Do.			1669	
		Royall James	King	26	March	1678	Dead
Allington, Argent^{on}	Lieutenant	Charles	Royal Highness			1668	
	Captain	Guernsey	Do.			1669	Slain in fight with Algier men-of-war off ——in the Streights 166–
Anderson, John	Captain	Sophia				1666	
Anderson, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant and Captain	Vanguard				1665	Dead
Andrews, John	Captain	Lizard	Royal Highness			1664	
		Sophia	Do.			1666	Dead
Andrews, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Princesse	Royal Highness			1670	
	Captain	Catherine fireship	Do.			1672	
		Faulcon	Do.			1673	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Andrews, Will^m	Captain	S^t Paul fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Providence Blessing } fire-ship	Do.			1673	Dead
Anguish, Will^m	Lieutenant	Anthelope	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Foresight				1669	
	Captain	Deptford ketch	Royal Highness			1670	
			King	25	May	1674	
	Lieutenant	Woolwich	Royal Highness	9	April	1677	
	Captain	Swann	Do.	12	April	1678	Dead
Annesly, Abrah^m	Captain	Maryland Merchant				1664	
		Delph prize	Royal Highness			1665	
		Hilversome	P. Rupert, D. Alb.			1666	
		True Dealing hired	King	17	June	1685	Dead
Ansley, Char.	Lieutenant	Hampshire	Sir John Narbrough	9	March	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
		Phoenix	A. Herbert	9	August	1680	
Archer, Anth^ny	Captain	Forrester	Royal Highness			1660	
		Good-hope	Do.			1664	Dead
Archer, John	Second Captain	S^t Andrew	Royal Highness			1672	
			Do.			1673	Dead
Armiger, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Dunkerke	Royal Highness			1666	
		Old James	Do.			1668	
		Sweepstakes	Do.			1669	Dead
Arscott, Amos	Lieutenant	Loyall Merchant				1664	Dead
Arthur, Rob^t	Captain	Prevention sloop	King	20	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Richmond yacht	Commissioners	4	Feb.	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
		Guernsey fireship	King	30	August	1688	
Ashby, Arthur	Lieutenant	Crowne	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Guinny	P. Rupert and D. Albem.			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 25 July, 1666
Ashby, John	Lieutenant	Adventure				1665	
		Princesse	Royal Highness			1667	

	Captain	Deptford ketch		4	Oct.	1668	
		Advice				1670	
		Rainbow	Royal Highness			1671	
		Pearle	Do.			1672	
		Lyon	P. Rupert			1673	
		Rose	King	12	Sept.	1674	
		Dunkirke	Do.	26	March	1678	
		Constant Warwick	Commissioners	8	April	1681	
		Mary Rose	Do.	16	July	1681	
		Mountague	King			1685	
		Henrietta guard-ship	Do.	27	Sept.	1685	
		Mordaunt	Do.	6	March	168$\frac{6}{7}$	
		Defiance	Do.	15	Sept.	1688	
Ashby, Nathan^{l}	Lieutenant	Lyon				1673	Dead
Ashford, Andr^{w}	Captain	Hawk ketch				1660	
		Guinny	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Ashton, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Mary	V. A. Herbert	21	March	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	Do.	Bristoll	King	14	April	1685	
	First do.	Do.	Do.	9	August	1685	
	Captain	Larke	Do.	22	April	1687	
		Guernsey	Do.	15	June	1688	
		Centurion	Do.	30	August	1688	Dead
Atkins, Char.	Second Lieutenant	Victory	Royal Highness			1672	
	Do.	Resolution	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Quaker ketch	King	14	Feb.	1675	Turned out for submitting himself to be towed in by the Turks. Dead
Atmar, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Fairfax	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Audeley, Rob^{t}	Second Lieutenant	Greenwich	L. Dartmouth	30	Oct.	1688	
	Do.	Tyger	Do.	29	Nov.	1688	
Aylett, John	Captain	John and Katherin	Royal Highness			1664	
		Portland	Do.			1664	
		Forrester	Do.			1668	Dead
Aylett, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Edgar	Royal Highness			1673	Dead
Ayliffe, Thom^{s}	Captain	Yarmouth	Royal Highness			1665	
	Lieutenant	Edgar				1671	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Aylmore, Geor.	Lieutenant	Sweepstakes	King	10	April	1677	
	Second do.	Dunkirke	Do.	18	August	1678	
	Captain	Dartmouth	Commissioners	11	Sept.	1680	
		Ann yacht	Commissioners	14	April	1681	
		Foresight	Lᵈ Dartmouth	8	Feb.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
		Reserve	King	15	June	1685	
		Portland	Do.	26	Oct.	1688	Dead
Aylmore, Matthʷ	Lieutenant	Charles galley				1678	
	Captain	Chatham double sloop	V. A. Herbert	9	Jan.	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
		Date-tree prize	Sir John Narbrough	5	May	1679	
		Castle fireship	V. A. Herbert	15	Nov.	1679	
		Swann	Commissioners	17	July	1680	
		Tiger prize	Do.	10	Jan.	$168\frac{1}{2}$	
		Mediterranean	King	21	June	1685	
		Charles galley	Do.	27	Sept.	1685	
		Swallow	Do.	1	Oct.	1688	
		Mary	Lᵈ Dartmouth	22	Dec.	1688	
Ayscue, Sʳ George (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Henry	Royal Highness			1664	
		Prince	Do.			1665	
		Triumph	Do.			1668	
		Sᵗ Andrew	Do.			$167\frac{1}{2}$	Died in March $167\frac{1}{2}$
Ayscue, Willᵐ	Lieutenant	Holmes	Royal Highness			1671	Dead
Bacon, Phil.	Lieutenant	Assistance				1661	
		Bonadventure	Royal Highness			1662	
		Sᵗ Andrew	Do.			1663	
		Plymouth	Do.			1664	
	Captain	Nonsuch				1664	
		Oxford	Royal Highness			1665	
		Assurance	Do.				Dead
		Bristoll					
Badge, John	Lieutenant	Centurion	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
		Royall James	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				

Baily, Simon	First Lieutenant	Victory	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Baker, Edward	First Lieutenant	S^{t} Andrew	Do.			1672	Dead
Baker, Jacob	Captain	Roe-kitchen	Do.			1666	
		New Kitchin yacht	Do.			1670	
		Merlin yacht	Do.			1671	
		Portsmouth yacht	King	5	Sept.	1677	Died in 1678
Baker, John	Second Lieutenant	Woolwich	L^{d} Dartmouth	14	Nov.	1688	
Ball, Andrew	Captain	Happy Entrance fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Alleppine fireship	Do.				
		Orange do.	Do.			1668	Drowned in the said fireship in the Streights
Ball, John	Lieutenant	Advice				1665	
		Castle frigate	Royal Highness			1666	
		Hunter	King	18	July	1673	Dead
Ball, Nepth.	Captain	Bramble fireship	Royal Highness			1665	
		Success do.	Do.				
		Roe ketch	Do.			1667	
		Assurance					
		Richmond	Royal Highness			1672	
		Greenwich	Do.			1672	Dead
Ballard, George	Second Lieutenant	Victory	Do.			1673	
Barber, Jacob	Second Lieutenant	Happy Returne	Sir John Narbrough	5	May	1679	
	Do.	Dover	Commissioners	16	July	1681	
Barber, James	Captain	Bonetta sloop	King			1673	
		Tripoly prize				1675	
		Bonetta sloop	King	12	July	1677	
		Assistance	V. A. Herbert	13	June	1679	
		Bonetta sloop	Commissioners	14	April	1681	
		Ann and Christopher guard-ship	Do.	29	July	1682	
		Do.	King	9	June	1685	
Barber, John	Lieutenant	Elizabeth	Royal Highness			1664	
Barber, Steph^{a}	Second Lieutenant	Mountague	King	2	Feb.	167⅞	
	Do.	Charles	Do.	30	April	1678	
	Do.	Orange-tree	Commissioners	3	April	1680	
Barker, Thom^{s}	Third Lieutenant	S^{t} Michael	Royal Highness			1672	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission.			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Barnes, Botler	Captain	Royall Charles hired	Royal Highness			1666	
	Lieutenant	Victory	Do.			1668	
Barnes, John	Captain	Hopewell vict[ualler]				1665	Dead
Barton, John	Captain	John ketch				1660	
		Blackmore pink	Royal Highness			1664	
		Do.	Do.			1667	Dead
Basse, Robert	Lieutenant	Returne	Royal Highness			1665	
		Hilversome	Royal Highness			1665	
		Gloucester	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Basse, William	Captain	William	Royal Highness			1664	
		London Merchant	Do.			1666	
		Oxford	Do.				
		Portsmouth	Do.			1668	
Batters, Christopher	Captain	Joseph fireship	Do.			1666	
Battin, Will^{m}	Captain	Drake				1660	Dead
Batts, George	Captain	Great Gift				1660	
		Little Gift	Royal Highness			1661	
		Francis	Do.			1663	
		Hampshire	Do.			1664	
		Unicorne	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Beach, George	Second Lieutenant	Henrietta	Commissioners	27	June	1682	
	First do.	Do.	L^{d} Dartmouth	8	Jan.	168$\frac{3}{4}$	
	Do.	Do.	King	20	June	1685	Dead
	Do.	Diamond	Do.	24	Sept.		
	Do.	Mary Rose	Do.	3	Nov.		
Beach, S^{r} Rich^{d} (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Crowne	Royal Highness			1661	
		Leopard	Do.			1663	
		Fairfax	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Greenwich	Royal Highness			1667	
		Hampshire	Do.			1669	
		Monmouth	Do.			1672	
		Royall James	Commissioners	13	March	168$\frac{2}{3}$	

Beake, William	Lieutenant	S^{t} Paul				1665	
Beale, William	Lieutenant	Stavoreene	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Beare, Amos	Captain	Nonsuch				1664	
		Lilly	Royal Highness				
		London Merchant	Do.			1666	
		Richmond	Do.			1667	
		Golden hand	Do.			1669	Dead
Beaumont, Baz^{l}	Lieutenant	Portsmouth	L^{d} Dartmouth	28	Oct.	1688	
Beere, John	Captain	Signett	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Beeston, Will^{m}	Captain	Assurance				1671	
Belbin, Peter	Lieutenant	Rupert				1672	
	First do.	Gloucester	Royal Highness			1673	
	Captain	Sweepstakes	P. Rupert				
	First Lieutenant	Mountague	King	30	April	1677	Died in 1678
Bell, Robert	Lieutenant	Revenge	Royal Highness			1666	
Bellamont, L^{d}	Lieutenant	Soveraigne	Do.			1666	Dead
Bellasyse, John	Captain	Gelderse Ruyter	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Bellowes, George	Lieutenant	St. George				1672	
Belt, John	Lieutenant	Castle frigate	Royal Highness			1665	
	First do.	Slothony	Do.			1666	
Berkeley, L^{d} Char.	Captain	Tiger	Commissioners	2	July	1681	Dead
Berkeley, L^{d} John	First Lieutenant	Bristoll	King	14	April	1685	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Charles galley	Do.	9	July	1686	
		Mountague	Do.	30	August	1688	
		Edgar	L^{d} Dartmouth	27	Nov.	1688	
Berkeley, S^{r} W^{m}	Lieutenant	Swiftsure	Royal Highness			1661	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Assistance				1662	
		Bonadventure	Royal Highness				
		Bristoll	Do.			1663	
		Do.				1664	
		Resolution	Royal Highness			1664	
		Swiftsure	Do.			1665	Slain in June 1666 in the battle with the Dutch
Bernadiston, Hen.	Lieutenant	John and Abigail	Royal Highness			1665	
		Breda	Do.				
		Rupert	Do.			1668	
		Advice	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Do.	Do.			1670	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Bernard, George	Captain	Gift	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Bertie, Charles	Second Lieutenant	Triumph	Do.			1668	
Berry, Anth^ny^	Lieutenant	Coronation				1666	
Berry, S^r^ John. (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Swallow ketch				1665	
		Little Mary	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Guinny	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Coronation	Royal Highness			1667	
		Pearle	Do.			1668	
		Nonsuch	Royal Highness			1670	
		Dover	Do.			1671	
		Gloucester	Do.			1672	
		Resolution	Do.				
		Swallow	King	9	March	1674	
		Bristoll	Do.	28	April	1675	
		Dreadnought	Do.	7	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Leopard	Commissioners	27	Jan.	1679	
		Gloucester	Do.	8	April	1682	
		Henrietta	Do.	15	June		
		Do.	King	20	June	1685	Dead
		Elizabeth	Do.			1688	
Berry, Joseph	Lieutenant	Royall Charles				1673	
Berry, Thomas	Lieutenant	Hampshire	Royal Highness			1672	
	Captain	Success	P. Rupert			1673	Discharged by a court-martial
	Second Lieutenant	Plymouth	Sir John Narbrough	12	August	1678	
	First do.	Foresight	Commissioners	13	Jan.	1679	
	Do.	Gloucester	Do.	11	April	1682	
	Do.	Henrietta	Do.	15	June		
	Do.	Anne	King	11	May	1687	
	Captain and Master	Ann yacht	L^d^ Dartmouth	5	Feb.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
	First Lieutenant	Oxford	King	14	April	1685	

Berry, William	First Lieutenant	Dover	King	4	April	1688	Dead
	Captain	Deptford ketch	Do.	3	May		
	Captain	Swallow ketch	D. Albemarle	.	. .	1665	
		Eaglett do.	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
		Wivenhoe do.	Do.	.	. .	1665	
		Young Lyon	Do.	.	. .	1666	
Best, John	Captain	Marmaduke	Do.	.	. .	1665	Dead
Best, Robert	Captain and Master	Orange tree	Sir John Narbrough	18	Sept.	1677	
Betts, William	Captain	Europa hulk	. . . .	.	. .	1674	
		America do.	King	29	April	1678	Dead
Bevan, Sam^l	Lieutenant	Saphire	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	Dead
Beverly, John	Lieutenant	Mermaid	Do.	.	. .	1672	
	Captain	Jacob dogger	. . . .	.	. .	1673	
	Lieutenant	Guardland	King	26	April	1677	
	First do.	Mountague	Do.	30	April	1678	
	Lieutenant	Assistance	Commissioners	15	May	1680	
	Captain	Saudadoes	King	10	April	1687	
		Jersey	Do.	9	Sept.	1688	
Beversham, John	Lieutenant	Hampshire	Royal Highness	.	. .	1661	
Biggs, George	Lieutenant	Dover	. . . .	.	. .	1660	Dead
Biggs, William	Lieutenant	S^t Andrew	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	Drowned
Billop, Christopher	Lieutenant	Portsmouth	. . . .	.	. .	1671	
		Bristoll	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
	Captain	Prudent Mary fire-ship	Do.	.	. .	1673	
		Rainbow hired	King	3	Feb.	1674	
		Deptford ketch	Commissioners	20	July	1680	
Bing, George	Lieutenant	Oxford	L^d Dartmouth	23	Feb.	168¾	
		Phoenix	King	1	June	1684	
		Mordaunt	Do.	24	May	1688	
	First do.	Defyance	Do.	3	Sept.		
	Captain	Constant Warwick	L^d Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Bird, Mathias	Captain	Leopard fireship	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	Dead
Birtch, August.	Captain	Royall Escape	Do.	.	. .	1672	
Bixon, Arthur	Lieutenant	Delph	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
		Leopard	Royal Highness	.	. .	1668	
Blachford, Nath^l	Lieutenant	Norwich	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Blackleach, Abr.	Lieutenant	Old James				1664	
	Captain	Little Mary				1664	Dead
Blackman, Tho.	Captain	Little Victory	D. Albemarle			1665	
Blagge, William	Second Lieutenant	Monmouth	Royal Highness			1673	
	First do.	Plymouth	Sir John Narbrough	16	Oct.	1677	
	Captain	Orangetree prize	Do.	22	Feb.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Saphire	V. A. Herbert	12	April	1679	
		Phoenix	Sir John Narbrough	3	May		
		Do.	Commissioners	15	August	1679	Dead
Blake, James	Captain	Constant John fireship				1665	Dead
Blake, John	Lieutenant	Bristoll	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Helversome	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Kent	Royal Highness			1668	Dead
Blake, William	Captain	Hawke ketch	Do.			1661	
		Lizard	Do.			1663	Dead
Blanchard, Herb^{t}	Lieutenant	S^{t} George	Royal Highness			1672	
		Crowne	Do.			1672	Dead
Bletchenden, J^{no}	Lieutenant	Golden Lyon	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Bonadventure	Royal Highness			1672	
Bois, Edward	Second Lieutenant	Oxford	King	5	July	1686	
	2^{d}	Cambridge	Do.	3	Sept.	1688	
Bonamy, Pet^{r}	Captain	Bull fireship	Royal Highness			1667	
		True Love do.	Do.			1672	Dead
Bond, Edward	Captain	Dutch Gallant	Do.			1664	Dead
Bond, Giles	Captain	William & Thomas				1665	
		Spye sloop	Royal Highness			1669	
		Green Helmet				1673	
Bokenham, W^{m}	Lieutenant	Kingfisher	V. A. Herbert	10	August	1681	
		Bristoll	Do.	17	August	1682	
	1st	Rupert	King	20	June	1685	
	,,	Dragon	Do.	11	July	1686	

Bonithon, John	Lieutenant	Adventure	Royal Highness			1660	
		Newcastle	Do.			1661	
		Essex	Do.			1663	Dead
Bonn, John	Captain	Wild boar fireship	Do.			1666	Dead
Bonner, Willm	Captain	Exeter fireship				1667	Dead
Boone, John	Captain	Wild boar fireship				1666	
	Second Lieutenant	Warspight	Royal Highness			1673	Dead
Booth, Thomas	Lieutenant	Kent	P. Rupert			1672	
		York	Royal Highness			1673	
	Captain	Pearle	P. Rupert			1673	
		Faulcon	King	14	April	1677	Hanged at Yarmouth for making a riot there
Booth, Willm	Captain	Pearle fireship	P. Rupert			1673	
		Eagle do.	King	30	June	1675	
		Richmond	Do.	15	May	1678	
		Adventure	Do.				
		Grafton	Commissioners	14	April	1683	
		Pendennis	King	25	Sept.	1688	
Borthwick, Ricd	Captain	Speedwell	Royal Highness			1672	
	First Lieutenant	Plymouth	Sir John Narbrough	18	Sept.	1677	
	Captain	Pearle	Sir John Narbrough	8	Oct.	1677	
		Gloucester hulk	Commissioners	1	June	1680	
		Castle guardship	Do.	29	July	1682	
		Do.	King	9	June	1685	
Boswell, Edwd	Captain	Little Lion fireship	P. Rupert			1672	
Boteler, Henry	Lieutenant	Dover	Royal Highness				
		Ruby	Commissioners	18	Nov.	1682	
		Guernsey				1683	
		Ruby					
	Captain	St Paul fireship	King	26	April	1688	
Botham, Willm	Lieutenant	St George				1673	
	Second do.	Reserve	King	23	Feb.	1675	
	First do.	Rupert	Do.	5	Nov.	1677	
	Captain	Roebuck	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Ann yacht				1680	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
		Pearle	Commissioners	8	May	1682	
		Orange tree	Do.	18	April		
		Pearle	King	22	April	1687	
		St. David	Do.	27	August	1688	
		Warspight	Lᵈ Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Boucher, George	Lieutenant	Ruby	Royal Highness			1661	
Boulter, John	Lieutenant	Henrietta	Do.			1665	Slain in the battle with the Dutch in June 1666
Bounty, John	Lieutenant	Assistance	King	27	Dec.	1673	
		Faulcon	Do.	1	Dec.	1677	
		Swallow	Commissioners	15	Oct.	1681	
		Mountague				1685	
	1ˢᵗ	Dreadnought	King	10	Sept.	1688	
	Captain	Half moon fireship	Lᵈ Dartmouth	14	Dec.		
Bourne, John	Third Lieutenant	Royall Charles	King	2	May	1678	Dead
Bowen, Peter	Captain	Success	Royal Highness			1660	
		Mathias	Do.			1666	
		Newcastle	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Centurion	Royal Highness			1669	
		Leopard	Do.			1672	Died in 1672
Bowers, John	Captain	William smack				1667	
Bowyer, Henry	Second Lieutenant	Deptford	Lᵈ Dartmouth	30	Oct.	1688	
Bowry, John	Captain	Drake	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Bowry, Mathˢ	Captain	Warrwell fireship				1667	Dead
Boyce, James	Lieutenant	Guinny				1665	
Boys, John	Lieutenant	Expedition	Royal Highness			1665	
		Guinny	Do.				
Bradford, Richᵈ	Lieutenant	Beare				1660	
		Advice	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Crowne Malaga				1666	Dead
Brathwell, Edwᵈ	Lieutenant 2ᵈ	Rainbow	Royal Highness			1672	
	,,	Princesse	Do.			1673	

	Lieutenant 2^{d}	Assistance	Royal Highness			1673	Dead
Bredcock, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Assistance				1673	Dead
Breden, Abrah.	First Lieutenant	Royall James		27	March	1678	Dead
Brewerton, Tho.	Lieutenant	William & Thomas				1672	
Bridgeman, Th.	Lieutenant	Bristoll				1664	
		Resolution	Royal Highness			1664	
		Swiftsure	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Guernsey	Do.			1666	
		Speedwell	Do.			1668	
		Fountaine	Do.			1669	
		Sweepstakes	Do.			1672	
		Greenwich	Do.			1673	
Bridges, John	Lieutenant	Rupert	V. A. Herbert	30	April	1678	
	Captain	Orange-tree Algier prize	Do.	12	April	1679	
		Do.	Sir John Narbrough	15	May	1679	
	Lieutenant	Norwich	Commissioners	19	June	1680	
Brisbane, Patr^{ck}	Lieutenant	Richmond				1682	
		Saphire	King	31	May	1687	
Broade, George	Third Lieutenant	London	Royal Highness			1672	
	Captain	Young Sprag	Do.			1673	Dead
Brooking, W^{m}	Lieutenant	Baltimore	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Anne	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Brooks, John	Captain	Little Mary	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Brooks, John	Lieutenant	Yarmouth	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Brooks, John	Captain	Greenwich	Do.			1666	
		Mary	Do.			1672	Died in 1678
Brooks, Packington	Lieutenant	Royall James	Do.			} 1661	
		Royall Charles					
	Captain	Foresight	Royal Highness			1662	
		Eagle	Do.			1664	
		Foresight	Do.			1664	Dead
Broome, Sam^{l}	Lieutenant	Zeland				1665	
	Captain	Emsworth sloop				1678	
		Chatham double do.	Sir John Narbrough	15	May	1679	Dead
Browne, Alexander	Lieutenant	Centurion	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Browne, Arnold	Captain	Dunkirke	Royal Highness			1661	
		Anne	Do.			1664	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Browne, John	Captain	Rosebush	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Browne, Hen.	Captain	Richard fireship	Do.			1666	
Browne, Ralph	Lieutenant	Reserve	Do.			1664	
Browne, Tho.	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Browne, Zach^{ry}	Captain	Assistance	Royal Highness			1664	
		Do.	Do.			1667	
Browning, Law^{ce}	Lieutenant	Fairfax	Do.			1664	Dead
Buck, John	Lieutenant	Amity	Royal Highness			1666	
		Assistance				1671	
		Ruby	Royal Highness			1672	
	1st	Monmouth	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Mordaunt				1684	
Buck, John	Second Lieutenant	Hampton Court	King	12	Nov.	1688	
Buckhill, Tho.	Captain	Roe kitchen				1661	
Bulkeley, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Crowne	Admiral Herbert	1	Aug.	1682	
	2^{d}	Oxford	King	14	April	1685	
	,,	Saphire	Do.	11	July	1686	
	1st	Sedgemoor	Do.	30	May	1687	
Bundee, Char.	Second Lieutenant	S^{t} Albans	L^{d} Dartmouth	22	Nov.	1688	
Bunn, Thomas	Captain	Essex	Royal Highness			1660	
		Lyon	Do.			1661	Dead
Burdick, John.	Captain	Dartmouth fireship				1672	
Burrell, Sam^{l}	Lieutenant	Newcastle				1670	Dead
Burroughes, Ant^{o}	Lieutenant	Henrietta				1660	
	Captain	Newcastle	Royal Highness			1664	
	Lieutenant	Centurion				1665	Dead
Burke, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	S^{t} Paul	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Bristoll	Do.			1665	
		Defyance	Royal Highness			1668	
		Cambridge	Do.				
	Captain	Portsmouth sloop	Do.				

	Lieutenant	Tyger	Royal Highness			1671	
	Captain	Isle of Wight yacht	King			1674	
Burt, William	Lieutenant	Cambridge				1668	
Burton, Casibelan	Lieutenant	Warspight	Royal Highness			1666	
		Reserve	Do.			1668	
		Greenwich	Do.			1670	
	1st	Warspight	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Drake	Do.				
		Holmes	Do.				
		Hampshire	Do.	13	Nov.	1673	
		Castle frigate	King	15	June	1674	Dead
Bushell, Scanderbeg George	Lieutenant	Assistance	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Leopard	Do.			1666	Dead
Bushell, John	Lieutenant	Leopard				1666	
Bushell, Will^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Royall James	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Bustow, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Unicorne				1664	
	Captain	Young Prince fire-ship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Francis frigate	Do.			1667	
		Mary yacht	Do.			1673	Drowned in 1675
Butcher, John	Lieutenant	Successe	Do.	4	Dec.	1673	
Butler, John	Captain	West Friesland	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Mary and Martha.	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Button, Will^{m}	Captain	Drake	Royal Highness			1660	
		Guardland	Do.			1661	Dead
Byam, Lawr^{ce}	Lieutenant	Welcome	Royal Highness			1661	
Bynard, Walt^{r}	First Lieutenant	Monmouth	Do.			1672	
		Royall Catherine	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Ann yacht	King	24	Oct.	1677	Dead
Bynning, Thom^{s}	Captain	Portsmouth pink	Royal Highness			1672	
		Swann prize	King	29	Nov.	1673	
		Ann and Joan, hired	Do.	12	April	1678	Dead
Byron, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Happy Return	Prince Rupert			1672	
	2d	Monmouth	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	,,	Pearle	Commissioners	3	April	1680	
Cadman, Jam^{s}	Captain	Hambr^{o} Merchant.	Royal Highness			1664	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Canning, Geor.	Lieutenant	Ruby	Royal Highness			1668	
		Kent	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Sweepstakes	Do.			1672	
		Diamond	Do.				
		Portland	Do.			1673	
		Jamesgalley frigate	King	20	Oct.	1676	Slain
Capell, Barthol.	Captain	Maers prize	Royal Highness			1665	
Carey, George	Lieutenant	Lion	Do.			1661	
Carlslake, Mart^{n}	Captain	Charles the 5th	Do.			1665	
		Mountague					
		Vanguard					
		Golden hand	Royal Highness			1669	Dead
Carman, John	Captain	Whipster firebark	V. A. Herbert	12	Oct.	1679	
Carlile, Char.	Lieutenant	Ruby	Commissioners	18	April	1682	
	Captain	Deptford ketch	Do.	18	Nov.		
		Francis	Do.	2	Dec.	1682	Dead
Carnell, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Edgarr	P. Rupert			1673	
Carpenter, Jn^{o}.	Lieutenant	Rupert	Royal Highness			1666	
		Resolution	Do.			1668	
Carter, Rich^{d}	First Lieutenant	Cambridge	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Successe	Do.			1673	
		Crowne	P. Rupert			1673	
		Swann	King	12	April	1675	
		Centurion	Do.	7	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Plymouth	Do.	30	Aug.	1688	
Carterett, Benjam^{n}	Lieutenant	Leopard	Royal Highness			1662	
		Jersey	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Pearle	Royal Highness			1666	
	Lieutenant	Crowne	Do.			1671	
	1st	S^{t} George	Do.			1672	
	1st	Triumph	Do.			1673	Discharged by his Royal Highness

Carterett, Jam^s	Lieutenant	Royall Prince				1665	
	Captain	Oxford					
		Jersey	Royal Highness			1666	
		Foresight	Do.			1668	Dead
Carterett, Phil^p	Lieutenant	Dover	Do.			1660	
		Plymouth	Do.				
		Foresight	Do.			1661	
		Royall Oake	Do.			1665	Lost with the Royall James in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Carverth, Hen.	Second Lieutenant	Resolution	Royal Highness			1672	
	Do.	Victory	Do.				
	First do.	Swiftsure	Do.			1673	
	Second do.	S^t Michael	Pr. Rupert				
	Captain	Do.					
	Second do.	Do.	King	25	Sept.		
	Captain	Woolwich sloop	Do.			1674	
		Young Sprag	Do.	29	March	1675	
		Francis	Do.	10	Sept.	1676	
		Greenwich	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Swallow	Commissioners	15	Oct.	1681	Dead
Carverth, Ric^d	Lieutenant	Mordaunt	King	9	Sept.	1688	
Casselles, Joseph	Lieutenant	Loyall London	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Monmouth	Royal Highness			1667	Dead
Castle, John	Lieutenant	Phoenix				1674	Dead
Castle, Joseph	Lieutenant	Loyall London				1666	Dead
Caswell, Joseph	Lieutenant	Monmouth				1667	Dead
Ceeley, Will^m	Captain	Spredd Eagle fire-ship	Royal Highness			1665	
		Samuel do.	Do.			1666	
		Malaga merchant do.	Do.			1666	Executed by order of a court-martial
Chamberlin, Tho.	Captain	Dragon	P. Rupert			1672	Quitted as being a Roman Catholic
Chant, William	First Lieutenant	Warspight	Royal Highness			1666	
		Royal Charles hired	Do.				
	Captain	George hired	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Chapman, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Assistance	King	13	July	1687	
		Foresight	Do.	6	March	168$^{8}_{7}$	
Chappell, Geor.	Captain	John and Margaret	Royal Highness			1664	
		Crowne	Do.			1665	Dead
Chappell, John	Lieutenant	Henrietta	Do.			1664	
		Royall James	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Young Prince	Do.				
		Clove tree	Do.			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666
Chappell, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Satisfaction	Do.			1665	
		Henry	Do.			1665	Dead
Chappell, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Swiftsure				1674	
Chaundler, Tho.	Second Lieutenant	Gloucester	Royal Highness			1665	Dead
Chichley, Sir Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Swiftsure				1662	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Milford	Royal Highness			1663	
		Bristoll				1664	
		Phoenix					
		Anthelope	Royal Highness			1665	
		Fairfax	Do.			1666	
		Rupert	Do.			1668	
		Dreadnought	Do.			1671	
		Royall Catherine	Do.			1672	
		Charles	Do.			1673	
Church, George	Lieutenant	House of Sweeds				1665	
		Helversome				1666	
Churchey, Geor.	Lieutenant	House de Swyte	Royal Highness			1665	
		Hilversome	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Delph	Royal Highness				
		Warwick	Do.			1667	
Churchfeild, Tho.	First Lieutenant	Rainbow	King	30	April	1678	

Churchill, Geor.	Lieutenant	Delph prize				1666	
	Second do.	Yorke	Royal Highness			1672	
	First do.	Fairfax	Do.			1673	
	Lieutenant	Castle frigate	King	26	March	1674	
		Swann	Do.	9	March	1674	
	Captain	Dartmouth	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Faulcon	Commissioners	11	Sept.	1680	
		Do.	Do.	11	April	1682	
		Newcastle	King	26	Sept.	1688	
Churchill, Jasper	Lieutenant	James galley	Admiral Herbert	30	Oct.	1680	
	2^{d}	Bristoll	Do.	6	Sept.	1681	Dead
Churchill, Winst^{n}	Lieutenant	Fairfax				1672	Dead
Clapp, Thom^{s}	Captain	Little Lion fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
Clarke, John	Captain	Little Mary	Do.			1661	
	Lieutenant	Charles the 2^{d}				1671	
	Third do.	Charles	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Clarke, Henry	Lieutenant	Young Prince	Do.			1665	
		Hampshire	Do.				
		Henry	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain	John and Thomas	Do.				
		Holmes	Royal Highness			1669	
		Nightingale	Do.			1672	
		Yarmouth	Do.				
		Yorke	Pr. Rupert			1673	Dead
Clarke, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	House de Swyte	Royal Highness			1666	
	First do.	Triumph	Do.			1672	
		Henrietta	Do.			1673	Dead
Clarke, Robert	Captain	Mary	Do.			1660	
		S^{t} George	Do.			1661	
		Royall Charles	Do.				
		Anthelope	Do.			1663	
		S^{t} George	Do.			1665	
		Gloucester	Do.				
		Triumph	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Monmouth	Royal Highness			1667	
		Mary	Do.				
		Do.				1669	Dead
Clarke, Thom^{s}	Captain	Well dogger	King	10	Nov.	1673	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Clements, Jn^{o}	Captain	Merlin yacht	Royal Highness			1667	
		Monmouth yacht	Do.			1671	
		Greyhound	Do.			1672	
		Do.	King	5	May	1679	
		Cleveland yacht	Commissioners	7	Jan.	1680	
		Do.	Do.	22	Oct.	1681	
		Charlott yacht	Commissioners	31	Aug.	1682	
		Do.	King	1	Apr.	1685	
		Henrietta yacht	Do.	4	May	1688	
		Katherine yacht	Do.	18	May		
		Cambridge	L^{d} Dartmouth	14	Dec.		
Clifford, Elias	Captain and Master	Prevention sloop	Royal Highness			1673	
		New sloop Portsmouth	P. Rupert				
Clifford, John	Lieutenant	Argier	Royal Highness			1671	
Clifford, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Amity	Do.			1665	
Clinton, W^{m}	Lieutenant	Speedwell				1673	
Coall, Thom^{s}	Captain	Isabella yacht	Commissioners	12	June	1683	
		Do.	King	25	May	1685	
		Do.	Do.	1	May	1688	
	Lieutenant	Greenwich	Do.	24	May		
	Captain	Pearle fireship	Do.	30	Aug.		
Cockerill, Ant^{ny}	Captain	Little Success				1667	Dead
Collins, Green^{ll}	Captain	Larke				1679	
		Merlin yacht	Commissioners	18	June	1681	
		Do.	Do.	4	April	1682	
		Monmouth yacht	Do.			1683	
		Do.	King	23	March	1685	
		Do.	Do.	25	April	1686	
		Merlin yacht	Do.	13	June	1688	
		Young Sprag	Do.	15	Sept.		

Collins, Ric^{d}	Captain	Robert fireship	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Collins, W^{m}	Captain	Francis	King	17	May	1678	
Collyer, John	Third Lieutenant	S^{t} Michael	Royal Highness			1672	
		Princesse	Do.			1673	
	First do.	Warspight	P. Rupert				
Coleman, Jam^{s}	Captain	Hound fireship	D. Albemarle			1665	Dead
Coleman, Jn^{o}	First Lieutenant	Lyon	P. Rupert			1673	
		Edgarr	King	30	April	1678	Dead
Coleman, W^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Soveraigne	Royal Highness			1665	
	First do.	Mary	Do.				
	Captain	Guinea				1666	
		Hampshire	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Centurion	Royal Highness			1668	
		Princesse	Do.			1669	
		Portsmouth	Do.				
		Gloucester	Do.			1672	
		Edgar	P. Rupert			1673	
		Do.	King	26	March	1678	
		James galley	Commissioners	2	Dec.	1679	Dead
Conaway, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Victory				1666	
		Lewis	Royal Highness			1667	
		Hampshire				1670	
	2^{d}	Mary	Royal Highness			1672	
	1st	Defyance	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	,,	Guardland	Do.	17	June	1685	
	1st	Mountague	Do.	30	Aug.	1688	
Colt, George	Lieutenant	Guinny	Royal Highness			1663	
		New Castle	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Richard & Martha	Do.			1666	
		Jacob fireship				1667	
		Hunter	Royal Highness			1673	
		Vultur sloop	King			1674	Drowned
Condon, Dav^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Unicorne	Royal Highness			1672	
		Foresight	Do.			1673	
	Lieutenant	Portsmouth	Sir John Narbrough	28	July	1678	
		Dragon	Commissioners	4	March	168$\frac{1}{2}$	
		Rose	King	14	April	1685	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Connisby, Hum^{ry}	Lieutenant	Assistance	Royal Highness			1660	
		S^t George	Do.			1661	
	Captain	Sorlings	Do.			1662	
		Guernsey	Do.			1663	Discharged by his Royal Highness
Constable, W^m	Captain	S^t Albans	King	26	Sept.	1688	
Consett, Christopher	Lieutenant	Assurance	Royal Highness			1664	
		Anne	Do.			1672	
Conway, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Guardland	King	17	June	1685	
		Bristoll	Do.	16	June	1688	
	1st	Mountagu				1688	
Cooke, James	Captain	Providence				1667	
	Second Lieutenant	Lyon	Royal Highness			1672	
		Charles	Do.			1673	Dead
Cooke, John	Captain	S^t Lawrence	P. Rupert			1673	
Cooper, Anth^{ny}	Lieutenant	Turky-merchant	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Copow, Will^m	Lieutenant	Rainbow				1665	
		Loyall Subject	Royal Highness			1667	
		French Ruby	Do.			1668	
		Mary Rose	P. Rupert			1673	
	Captain	Do.	King	18	June	1675	
	First Lieutenant	Jersey	Do.	20	Nov.	1677	Dead
Coppin, John	Captain	Centurion	Royal Highness			1660	
		S^t George	Do.			1665	Slain in fight with the Dutch, June 1666
Coppin, William	First Lieutenant	Unicorne	Do.			1673	Dead
Corbett, Pelh^m	Lieutenant	Speedwell	Do.			1673	
		Reserve	Commissioners	19	July	1681	
		Bonadventure	Do.	22	May	1683	Dead
Cornelius, Gilb^t	Lieutenant	Good-hope	Royal Highness			1664	
Cornwallis, John	Lieutenant	Mary	Do.			1661	Dead
Cornwall, Woolfran	Lieutenant	Tiger	Admiral Herbert	30	Jan.	168½	

	Captain	Dartmouth fireship	King	23	Aug.	1688	
		Constant Warwick	Lᵈ Dartmouth	26	Nov.		
		Swallow	Do.	22	Dec.		
Cotterell, Edward	Captain	Signett	Royal Highness			1661	
		Paradox	Do.			1662	
		Forrester	Do.			1664	
		Delph	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Lieutenant	Warwick	Royal Highness			1669	
	First do.	Revenge	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Argier	Sir Edward Spragg			1670	
		Augustine	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Cotton, Andrew	Captain	Experiment sloop	King	20	July	1677	
		Hound sloop	Do.	16	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Chatham double do.	Commissioners	15	Feb.	1679	
		Fanfann	Do.	10	July	1680	
		Monmouth yacht	Do.	20	Oct.	1681	
		Navy yacht	Do.	20	Feb.	$168\frac{2}{3}$	
		Do.	King	24	March	$168\frac{4}{5}$	
Cotton, Richard	Captain	Bryar fireship	Royal Highness			1664	
	Second Lieutenant	Royall James	Do.			1672	
Covell, Allen	Captain	Sorlings	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Country, Jeremy	Captain	Greyhound	Do.			1660	Dead
Country, Richᵈ	Captain	Hind ketch	Do.			1661	
		Emsworth sloop	Do.			1662	
		Nonsuch ketch	Do.			1664	
		Forrester	Do.			1667	
		Drake	Do.			1668	
	Lieutenant	Portland	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Roebuck	King	9	Feb.	1673	Dead
Courtnay, Fran.	Captain	Gelderse de Ruyter	Royal Highness			1666	
		Happy Returne	Do.			1667	
		Sweepstakes	Do.			1668	
		Guardland	Do.			1669	
		Dunkirke	Do.			1672	
		Do.	Do.			1673	Died of wounds received in the battle with the Dutch in August 1673

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Cowdry, John	Captain	Hardereen flyboat				1665	
		Wood Merchant do.				1667	Dead
Cowes, Henry	Lieutenant	Diamond	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Cowes, Rich^{d}	Captain	Paradox	Do.			1660	Dead
Cox, S^{r} John	Captain	Mary	Do.			1665	
		Soveraigne	Do.			1666	
		Charles	Do.			1668	
		Prince	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 20 [28] May, 1672
Cox, John	First Lieutenant	Assistance	King	13	July	1687	
	Second do.	Reserve	Do.	19	July	1688	
Crabb, John	Captain	Eagle	Royal Highness			1665	
		Do.	Do.			1667	
		Boats at Portsmouth	Do.				
Craft, Thomas	Captain	Kingfisher				1665	
Crandley, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Hope	D. Albemarle			1665	Dead
Cratcheley, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Assistance	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Crawford, John	Lieutenant	Lenox				} 1667	
	Captain	Bonadventure fire-ship					
Crawley, Jeremy	Captain	Francis fireship	Royal Highness			1667	
Crawley, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Hope prize				1665	Dead
Crawley, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Elizabeth	King	1	Oct.	1688	
Creeb, John	Second Lieutenant	Anne	P. Rupert			1673	
Critch, L^{d} John	Lieutenant	Do.				1673	
Crofts, John	Third Lieutenant	Royall Katherine	Royal Highness			1672	
	Second do.	Dunkirke	Do.			1673	
	Lieutenant	Kingfisher	Do.			1677	
		Sweepstakes	Commissioners	10	June	1680	
	Captain	Deptford ketch	King	23	March	$168\frac{4}{5}$	Dead
Crofts, John	Lieutenant	Richmond				1672	

		Swann	King	16	Jan.	167⅞	
		Oxford	Do.	30	May	1678	Dead
Crosby, Richd	Lieutenant	St George				1673	
		Guardland	King	15	April	1678	Dead
Crosman, Robt	Captain	Nonsuch ketch				1664	
Cross, George	Captain	Supply fireship	Ld Dartmouth	12	Nov.	1688	
	Second Lieutenant	Dreadnought	Do.	19	Dec.		
Croutz, John	Second Lieutenant	Anne	P. Rupert			1673	
Crow, Anthny	Captain	Kitchin yacht	King	17	April	1678	
		Do.	Do.	1	April	1685	
		Do.	Do.	3	June	1687	
		Do.	Do.	3	May	1688	
		Do.	Do.	1	June		
Crow, George	Second Lieutenant	Royall Catherine	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Sarah and Elizabeth				1667	
Crow, Thomas	Captain	Henrietta yacht	Royal Highness			1666	
		Merlin yacht	Do.			1671	Turned out
Cubitt, Joseph	Captain	Mary Rose	Do.			1661	Dead
Culpepper, Jno	Second Lieutenant	Warspight	P. Rupert			1673	
	First do.	Yorke	King	30	April	1678	
Culpepper, Josph	Captain	Culpepper fireship	Do.	10	July	1673	
Culpepper, Thos	Lieutenant	Yorke	Commissioners	30	April	1678	
Cunnings, Hen.	Lieutenant	St George				1661	
Curle, Edmond	Captain	Little Mary	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Curtis, Edmond	Captain	New Castle	Do.			1660	Dead
Cuttance	Lieutenant	Henry	Do.			1666	
Cuttance, Edwd	Lieutenant	Assurance				1661	
Cuttance, Joseph	Lieutenant	Royall Prince				1664	
Cuttance, Henry	Captain	Speedwell	Royal Highness			1660	
		Forrester	Do.			1661	
		Happy Return	Do.			1665	Dead
Cuttance, Sr Rogr	Captain	Royall Charles	Do.			1660	
		Royall James	Do.			1661	
		Prince	Do.			1665	Dead
Cuttle, John	Captain	Hector	Do.			1664	Lost in the said ship, being sunk in fight with some Dutch ships, 1665

List of all the Commission Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Dalby, George	Second Lieutenant	French Ruby	Royal Highness			1672	
Dale, John	Lieutenant	Happy Return	Do.			1665	Dead
Dale, William	Captain	Francis prize				1660	
		Fox	Royal Highness			1665	
		Golden Lion	D. Albemarle				
		London hired	Royal Highness			1666	
		Hind dogger	King			1673	Dead
Danerell, Sam^l	Lieutenant	Royall Charles				1665	
	Captain	House de Swyte					
		Castle frigate	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Darcy, John	Lieutenant	Greenwich	Do.			1672	
Darcy, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Monk	Royal Highness			1662	
		Kent	Do.			1663	
		Revenge	Do.			1664	
	Captain	Pembroke	Do.				
		Mary Rose	Do.			1667	
		Dartmouth	Do.			1669	
		Mountague	Do.			1672	
		S^t George	Do.			1673	Dead
Dare, Jeffery	Captain	House de Swyte	Royal Highness			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch in June 1666
Dancer, John	Lieutenant	Hunter	King	20	Nov.	1677	
		Greenwich	Do.	17	April	1678	Dead
Davies, Will^m	Lieutenant	Diamond	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Little Unicorne	Do.	18	April	1665	
		Maryland Merchant	Do.				
		Zealand	Do.			1666	
		Coronation	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Guinny	Royal Highness				
		Guernsey	Do.			1668	
		Forrester	Do.			1669	
		Mary Rose	Do.			1671	

		S^{t} George	Royal Highness			1672	
		Triumph	Do.			1673	
		Foresight	King	3	Dec.	1674	
		Cleveland yacht	Do.	11	July	1676	
		Cambridge	Do.	28	March	1678	
		Cleveland yacht	Do.			1679	
		Catherine yacht	Commissioners	7	Jan.	1680	
		Do.	Do.	22	Oct.	1681	
		Do.	King	1	April	1685	
		Do.	Do.	12	June	1687	
		Mary	Do.	13	May	1688	
		Anthelope	Do.	29	May		
		Deptford	Do.	1	June		
		Resolution	Do.	15	Sept.		
Davies, Will^{m} (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	George of Bristoll hired	Royal Highness			1665	
		Guinney				1666	Dead
Davis, Philip	Lieutenant	Hilversome	Royal Highness			1666	
Davis, Roger	Lieutenant	Loyal Subject hired	King	30	April	1678	Dead
		Europa hired	Do.	15	Sept.		
Dawes, Henry	Captain	John and Thomas	Royal Highness			1665	
		Princesse	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Slain in fight with two Danes men-of-war, 17 May, 1667, between the Sean and Malshond
Dawes, John	Lieutenant	Dover	L^{d} Dartmouth	27	Oct.	1688	
Dawson, John	Lieutenant	Greenwich				1672	Dead
Dawson, John	Lieutenant	Defiance	Royal Highness			1666	
	Captain	True Love fireship	Do.			1670	
	First Lieutenant	S^{t} Michaell	Do.			1672	
	Second do.	Do.	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Advice	P. Rupert			1673	Dead
Dawson, Matth^{w}	Captain	Success fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Thomas and Edward fireship	Do.			1673	
		Spanish Merchant fireship	King	7	May	1678	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continuea*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Dawson, Rob^{t}.	Lieutenant	Nightingale	Royal Highness			1673	Dead
Dawson, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Convertine	Do.			1664	
		Bonadventure	Do.			1667	
		Nonsuch	Do.			1668	
Day, John	Lieutenant	Royall Katherine				1664	
	Captain	Baltimore	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Day, Richard	Lieutenant	Gloucester	Royal Highness			1664	
		Mountague	Do.			1668	
		Assurance	Do.			1670	
	Captain	Bezan yacht	Do.			1671	
		Merlin yacht	King	16	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Day, Robert	Lieutenant	Royall Charles hired	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Day, Thomas	Second Lieutenant	Rupert	King	4	Oct.	1688	
Deane, Anth^{ny}.	Lieutenant	Bristoll				1664	Dead
De Geus, John.	Captain	Mary yacht	Royal Highness			1660	
		Katherine do.				1661	Dead
Delavall, Ralph	Lieutenant	Henrietta				1666	
		Cambridge					
		Tiger	Royal Highness			1668	
		Adventure	Do.			1670	
		Advice				1672	
	Captain	Eagle	Royal Highness			1673	
		Constant Warwick	King	9	April	1677	
		Yorke	Do.	1	Oct.	1688	
Dering, Dan^{l}	Lieutenant	Bristoll	Commissioners	27	Nov.	1679	
	Second do.	Rupert	Do.				
	Captain	Dover	Do.	16	July	1681	
Dew, Anthony	Lieutenant	Bristoll	Royal Highness			1664	
Devereux, Peirce	Lieutenant	Dunkirke				1671	
	First do.	Do.	Royal Highness			1673	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 11 August, 1673

Diamond, Thom^s	Captain	Martin	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Dickenson, Ric^d	Second Lieutenant	Swiftsure	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Joseph fireship				1667	
	Second Lieutenant	Rupert	Royal Highness			1668	
	Lieutenant	Dreadnought				1671	
	First do.	Royall Catherine	Royal Highness			1672	
	Second Captain	Charles the 2d	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Hunter	King	12	Sept.	1674	
		Woolwich	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Diamond	Commissioners	17	April	1680	
		Tiger prize				1682	
		Oxford	King	23	March	168$\frac{4}{5}$	
Dickinson, Jn^o	Lieutenant	Persia Merchant hired	Do.	30	April	1678	
Dickinson, Sam^l	Captain	Golden Phenix	Royal Highness			1665	Dead
Dicksey, Will^m	Captain	Invention sloop	P. Rupert			1673	
Digby, Fran.	Lieutenant	Royall Charles	Royal Highness			1666	
	Captain	Jersey	Do.				
		Greenwich	Do.			1667	
		Mountague	Do.			1668	
		Henry	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Dilks, Thom^s	Second Lieutenant	Hampshire	King	29	April	1687	
	Do.	Henrietta	Do.	3	Sept.	1688	
Ditty, John	Lieutenant	Charles the 5th	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Hare fireship	Do.			1665	Dead
Ditzworth, Edw^d	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick	P. Rupert			1673	
Dodd, John	Third do.	S^t Michael	Do.			1673	Dead
Dolbin, Rowl^d	Lieutenant	Adventure	Royal Highness			1665	
		Princesse	Do.				
Dore, Thom^s	Second Lieutenant	Swiftsure	King	14	Jan.	1673	Dead
Dossy, Thom^s	Captain	Harpe	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Dover, Edward	Captain	Elizabeth and Sarah fireship	King	9	Sept.	1688	
Dover, Robert	Lieutenant	S^t David	Royal Highness			1667	
	Second do.	Dunkirke	Do.			1668	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Downes, Will^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Henry	Royal Highness			1668	
Downing, Theoph^{s}	Lieutenant	Edgar	P. Rupert			1673	
	Fourth do.	Soveraigne	Do.			1673	Dead
Drake, Endimion	Lieutenant	Expedition	Royal Highness			1667	
		Dragon	Do.			1668	
		Successe	Do.			1671	
Draper, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Triumph	Do.			1672	
	First do.	Unicorne	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Providence fireship	King	17	May	1678	
		Ann and Christian [Christopher]fireship	Do.	14	Sept.	1678	Dead
Dring, Stephen	Lieutenant	Fairfax	Royal Highness			1665	
		Victory	Do.			1666	Dead
Duck, Robert	Captain	Hunter				1660	
Dungan, John	Lieutenant	James galley	Admiral Herbert	23	August	1680	Dead
Dungan, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Crowne	Royal Highness			1671	Dead
Dunbar, James	Second Lieutenant	Royall Catherine	Do.			1672	
		Fairfax	P. Rupert			1673	
		Advice	Do.				
	First do.	New Castle	King	15	June	1674	
		Charles galley frigate	Do.	22	Sept.	1676	
	Captain and Master	Golden Marygold prize	Sir John Narbrough	29	Sept.	1677	
		Do.	Do.	15	March	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	Captain	Richmond	Commissioners	26	July	1679	Dead
Dunjoy, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	True Dealing				1685	
Du Tiel, S^{r} Jn^{o}	Captain	Fountaine	Royal Highness			1665	
		Jersey	Do.				
		Galley in y^{e} Streights	Do.			1671	Dead
Dym, Robert	Second Lieutenant	London	Do.			1672	Dead

Earle, John	Lieutenant	Rainbow	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Loyall George	Do.			1665	
		Nightingale	Do.			1666	
		Tiger				1668	Dead
East, William	Second Lieutenant	Resolution	King	21	Jan.	1673	
	Captain	Thomas and Catherine fireship	Do.	17	May	1678	
Eden, John	Lieutenant	John & Margaret				1664	Dead
Edwards, Peter	Captain	Well dogger	Royal Highness			1662	
	Lieutenant	Warwick	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Defyance	Royal Highness			1668	
		S^{t} Andrew				1670	
	Captain	Blessing smack				1672	Dead
Edwards, Rich^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Plymouth	King	3	Sept.	1688	
Edwin, John	Lieutenant	Royall Exchange	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Elfrith, Robert	Captain	John's Advice				1673	
Elliott, Edmund	Lieutenant	Faulcon				1685	
		Dunbarton	King	14	April	1685	
	Captain	Rose Sally prize	Do.	28	April	1688	
		Centurion	L^{d} Dartmouth			1688	
Elliott, James	Lieutenant	Crowne	Admiral Herbert	17	July	1682	Dead
Elliott, John	Captain	Tulip fireship	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Fox do.	Royal Highness				
		Robert do.	Do.			1667	
		Castle do.	King	1	Feb.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	Turned out by a court-martial by Sir John Narbrough
Elliott, Thom^{s}	Captain	Katherine Merchant hired	Royal Highness			1664	
		Saphire	Do.			1665	
		Revenge	Do.				
		Do.	Do.			1667	
		Anne	Do.			1668	
		Do.	Do.			1670	
		Reserve	Royal Highness			1670	
		Yorke	Do.			1672	
	Second do.	London	Do.			1672	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Elliott, Thoms.	Second Lieutenant	Princesse	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	
		Assistance	Do.	.	. .	1673	Dead
Ellis, Peter	Lieutenant	Bristoll	. . . .	.	. .	1673	
Elwis, Gerard	Second Lieutenant	Lyon	Ld Dartmouth	26	Nov.	1688	
Ensom, Robert	Captain	Swallow ketch	Royal Highness	.	. .	1663	
	Second do.	Constant Warwick	Do.	.	. .	1665	Dead
Enys, Samuel	Lieutenant	St Patricke	Do.	.	. .	1666	Dead
Erlisman, Richd	Captain	Hawke ketch	Do.	.	. .	1664	
		Do.	Do.	.	. .	1666	
		Tulip dogger	Do.	.	. .	1673	Dead
Ernle, Sr John	Lieutenant	Rainbow	. . . .	.	. .	1664	
		Hampshire	Royal Highness	.	. .	1670	
		Rupert	Sir Edward Spragg	.	. .	1671	
	Captain	Dover	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
		Revenge	Do.	.	. .		
		Henry	P. Rupert	.	. .	1673	
		Foresight	King	21	July	1674	
		Woolwich	Do.	2	April	1677	
		Defyance	Do.	12	March	167$\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Erwin, George	Captain	William	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	Dead
Euatt, Philipp.	Captain	Castle frigate	Do.	.	. .	1665	
	Lieutenant	Lyon	Do.	.	. .	1666	
		Royall James	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	Dead
Evelyn, Christopher.	Captain	Wivenhoe ketch	Royal Highness	.	. .	1665	
Every, John	Second Lieutenant	Charles galley	King	6	July	1686	
	Do.	Mountague	Do.	3	Sept.	1688	
	First do.	Edgar	Ld Dartmouth	27	Nov.		
Ewens, Thoms	Captain	Kent	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	Dead
Ewers, Philipp	Captain	Maryland Merchant	. . . .	.	. .	1666	Dead
Fairborn, Staffa.	Captain	Richmond fireship	King	30	August	1688	

Fairfax, Char.	Third Lieutenant	S^t Andrew	Royal Highness			1671	
Farer, Rob^t	Captain	Revenge				1664	
Farmer, Will^m.	Captain	Bezan yacht	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Do.	Commissioners	12	August	1680	
Farr, Charles	Captain	Johanna dogger				1667	Dead
Farre,	Captain	Batchelor hired	Royal Highness			1669	
Fazeby, Will^m.	Captain	Roe kitchen	Do.			1661	
		Katherine yacht	Do.			1666	
		Anne yacht	Do.				
		Monmouth yacht	Do.			1668	
		Cleveland yacht	Do.			1671	
		Charles yacht	King	11	Sept.	1675	
		Kent	Commissioners	26	Sept.	1679	
		Henrietta yacht	Do.	18	Dec.	1679	
		Do.	Do.	14	Nov.	1682	
		Do.	King	1	April	1685	
		Mary yacht	Do.	4	May	1688	
Fauconbergh, S^r Jn^o.	Lieutenant	Fairfax	Royal Highness			1666	
Feakes, Tobias	Lieutenant	Loyall Subject	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Duke of Cambridge				1667	Dead
Feild, Gregory	Lieutenant	Levant Merchant	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Fielding, Geor.	Lieutenant	Bonadventure	Royal Highness			1663	
		Adventure				1671	
Felton, Compton	Lieutenant	Anne				1673	
		Yarmouth	King	28	April	1675	
	Captain	Rose	Do.	12	April	1678	
Fenn, Henry	Captain	Bristoll	Royal Highness			1660	
		Mountague	Do.			1664	
		Do.				1665	Dead
Fernly, Edm^d.	Lieutenant	Marmaduke	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	2^d	Anne	Royal Highness			1668	
	,,	Old James	Do.			1672	
	,,	Swallow	Do.			1673	
Ferrines, Henry	Captain	Harwich hoy				1665	
Fidge, William	Second Lieutenant	Plymouth	Royal Highness			1672	
		Yorke	King	30	April	1678	Dead
Fidges, Hugh	Lieutenant	Dartmouth				1672	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Finch, Will^{m}	Captain	Forrester	Royal Highness			1661	
		Amity	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Foresight	Do.				
		Crowne	Do.			1671	
		Yorke	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1673
Fincham, August^{n}	Lieutenant	Guernsey	Royal Highness			1672	
Fish, Gregory	Captain	Schedam prize				1683	Dead
Fisher, Thom^{s}	Captain	Guernsey	Royal Highness			1665	
Fitton, Henry	Captain	Hopewell fireship	Do.			1673	
Fitz-Gerard, Edw^{d}	Captain	Nonsuch				1672	
Fitz-Herbert, Hum^{ry}	First Lieutenant	Oxford	King	3	Dec.	1673	
		Henry					
Fitz-Patrick, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Richmond	King	14	May	1687	
		Assurance	Do.	24	May	1688	
Flatcher, John	Captain	Eagle	Royal Highness			1660	
		Little Gift	Do.			1667	
	Lieutenant	Foresight	Do.			1669	
	Captain	French Victory	Do.			1672	Lost his ship and fled from trial
Flawes, Will^{m}	Captain	Greyhound fireship				1665	
		Defyance				1666	
		Mary fireship	Royal Highness				
		Jacob do.	Do.			1667	
	Lieutenant	London	Do.			1670	
	Captain	Francis fireship	Do.			1670	
		Quaker ketch	Do.			1671	
		Prosperous pink hired	King	2	May	1676	
		Mermaide	Do.	4	April	1677	
		Faulcon	Do.	18	Sept.	1677	Dead

Fleming, Hump^{ry}	Captain		Batchelor hired	Royal Highness			1669	Dead
Fletcher (*vide* Flatcher)								
Fogge, John	Lieutenant		Nonsuch	Do.			1672	
			Phoenix	Commissioners	22	Feb.	168$\frac{0}{1}$	
Foote, Peter	Captain		Bryer	Royal Highness			1664	
			St. Paul				1664	Dead
Ford, Samuel	Lieutenant		Happy Return				1667	
		2^{d}	Dunkirke	Royal Highness			1672	
		1st	French Ruby	Do.			1673	
		2^{d}	Dunkirke	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		,,	Adventure	Do.	30	April	1678	
Ford, Thomas	Lieutenant		Happy Return	Royal Highness			1667	
Fortescue, Jn^{o}, sen^{r}	Captain		Colchester	Do.			1661	
			Hound	Do.			1662	
			Loyal Subject	D. Albemarle			1665	
			Charles the 5th	Royal Highness			1667	
			French Victory	Do.			1668	Dead
Fortescue, Jn^{o}, jun^{r}	Lieutenant		George hired	Do.			1665	
			Seven Oakes	Do.				
			Swallow	Do.			1666	
Fortescue, Rob^{t}	Captain		Colchester				1661	
	Lieutenant		Greenwich	Royal Highness			1666	
			Anne				1667	
	Captain		Francis fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
			Ann & Christopher				1673	
			Asia hired	King	12	April	1678	Dead
Foster, James	Lieutenant		Turky Merchant	P. Rupert			1672	
			Jersey	Do.				
Foulis, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant		Faulcon	King	23	August	1688	
			Tyger prize	Do.	12	Nov.		
Foulis, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant		Golden Phoenix	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain		Do.	Do.				
			Wood Merchant fireship				1667	
	Lieutenant		Revenge	Royal Highness				
			Roe ketch	Do.			1668	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
		Running prize				1669	
		Holmes	Royal Highness			1671	
		Diamond	Do.			1672	
		Anne	Do.				
		Assistance	Do.			1673	
		Princesse	Do.				
		Lyon	Do.			1673	Slain, 28 August [May], 1673
Foulks, Simon	Lieutenant	Saphire	Admiral Herbert	23	Dec.	1680	
	First do.	Plymouth	King	30	August	1688	
	Captain	Richard and John fireship	L^{d} Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Fouler, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Reserve	Royal Highness			1670	
		Yorke	Do.			1672	
	First do.	London	Do.				
		Prince	Do.			1673	
	Second Captain	Do.	P. Rupert				
		Rupert	Do.				
		Do.	King	27	Dec.		
		Swallow	Do.	27	April	1675	
		Greenwich	Do.	7	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Henrietta	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Swallow	Do.	22	Sept.		
		Woolwich	Commissioners	14	April	1683	
		Golden Horse	King	29	April	1685	
		Happy Return	Do.	11	June	1685	Dead
Fox, Edward	Lieutenant	Charles galley	V. A. Herbert	8	Feb.	167$\frac{8}{9}$	
Fox, John	Captain	Deale dogger	Royal Highness			1673	
Fox, Ralph	Lieutenant	Yorke	Do.			1661	
		Elias	Do.			1663	
Frary, Ralph	Captain	Jeremy hoy	Royal Highness			1661	
		Batchellor ketch				1668	

		John's Advice hospital	Royal Highness			1672	
		Henrietta yacht	Do.			1673	Dead
Freeman, John	Lieutenant	Dreadnought	Do.			1664	
	Captain	Orange prize	Do.			1666	Dead
Friend, Richard	Captain	Anne of Portsmouth				1671	Dead
Frowd, Frederick	Lieutenant	Dreadnought	Royal Highness			1671	
		Pearle	King	15	Feb.	1675	
		Speedwell	Do.	23	Feb.		
	Captain	Swann	Do.	11	July	1680	
		Two Lions Sally prize	L^d Dartmouth	8	Jan.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
		Ruby	King	30	August	1688	
Fuller, Thomas	Captain	Fanfan				1667	
Funnell, Nichol^s	Second Lieutenant	Woolwich	King	30	April	1678	
Furlong, Edward	Lieutenant	Revenge	Royal Highness			1672	
	Second do.	New-Castle	King	10	Nov.	1673	
	Captain	Sarah fireship	Do.	17	May	1678	
Gallopp, George	Lieutenant	East-India Merchant	Royal Highness			1664	
		Portsmouth				1665	
		Centurion	Royal Highness			1668	
	Captain	Thomas & Francis	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Gardiner, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Henry	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Tyger	Do.				
		Bristoll	Royal Highness			1668	
	Captain	Barnaby	P. Rupert			1672	
		Faulcon	King			1673	
		Assistance	Do.	5	Nov.	1677	Dead
Gardner, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Hunter	Do.	29	April	1678	Dead
Gardner, Thom^s	Captain	James hired				1680	
	First Lieutenant	Henrietta	King	5	Sept.	1688	
Garris, Will^m	Captain	Fanfan	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Gascoigne, Joel	Lieutenant	Greenwich				1667	
		Mountague	Royal Highness			1668	
		Henry	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May 1672

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Gelding, Isaac.	Captain	Hardereen fireship	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
		New sloop	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	Dead
George, John	Lieutenant	Portsmouth	Do.	.	. .	1672	
		Foresight	King	27	July	1674	
	First do.	Leopard	Do.	29	May	1677	
		Happy Returne	Do.	11	Sept.	1678	
	Lieutenant	Leopard	Commissioners	13	Jan.	1679	
	First do.	Grafton	Do.	14	April	1683	
	Captain	Deptford ketch	L^d Dartmouth	17	Dec.	1683	
		Rose	King	23	March	$168\frac{4}{5}$	
George, Reignalds	Lieutenant	Hampshire	P. Rupert	.	. .	1673	
Gethings, John	Captain	Fame fireship	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
		Horseman prize	Do.	.	. .	1665	
		Black Bull	Do.	.	. .	1665	Dead
Gibbons, Anderson	Captain	John and Elizabeth fireship	. . .	.	. .	1667	
Gibbons, John	Lieutenant	Golden Phoenix	Royal Highness	.	. .	1666	
Gibbons, Owen	Lieutenant	Richard & Martha	Do.	.	. .	1666	
		East-India Merchant	Do.	.	. .		
Gibbons, Thom^s	Second Lieutenant	Yorke	Do.	.	. .	1672	Dead
Gibson, Henry	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	King	23	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		S^t Michael	Do.	2	May	1678	
Gibson, James.	Lieutenant	Anne & Jane hired	Do.	30	April	1678	
Gifford, Will^m.	Second Lieutenant	Dragon	Do.	2	Nov.	1676	
		Centurion	Do.	5	Nov.	1677	
		Mary	Do.	10	Dec.		
	First do.	Bristoll	Sir John Narbrough	14	Jan.	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
	Captain	Larke	Commissioners	11	April	1682	
		Mermaide	L^d Dartmouth	23	Feb.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
		Do.	King	1	June	1684	
		Do.	Do.	1	April	1685	
		Phoenix	Do.	1	Nov.	1688	

Gilby, Robert	Lieutenant	Kent	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Gelderse Ruyter	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Lieutenant	Warspight	Royal Highness			1668	Dead
Gill, John	Captain	Daniel fireship				1666	Dead
Gillam, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Ruby	King	6	Sept.	1688	
Gillery, James	Captain	Project fire-bark	V. A. Herbert	12	Oct.	1679	
Gilling, Thom^{s}	Captain	Barbadoes Merchant fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
Gilpin, Bern^{d}	Captain	Breda	Do.			1660	
		Mathias	Do.			1662	
		Hector	Do.			1663	
		Kent	Do.			1664	
		Dreadnought	Do.			1664	Drowned April 1665
Gipps, George	Second Lieutenant	Defyance	King	20	March	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
Gislin, Woolhouse	Lieutenant	Phoenix				1664	
Glenham, Henry	Second Lieutenant	Warspight	Royal Highness			1672	
	First do.	Henry	Do.			1673	
Godfrey, W^{m}, sen^{r}	Captain	Eagle				1665	
		Satisfaction	Duke Albemarl				
		Marmaduke	Do.				
		Crowne	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Lieutenant. 2^{d}	Unicorne	Royal Highness			1673	
	„	Do.	Do.			1673	Dead
Godfrey, W^{m}, jun^{r}	Lieutenant	Satisfaction				1665	
Godwin, John	Lieutenant. 2^{d}	Royall Oake	Royal Highness			1665	
	„	Loyall London	Do.			1666	
	„	Royall Katherine	Do.			1668	Dead
Golden, Stephen	Lieutenant	Leopard	Do.			1665	
Golding, John	Captain	Katherine yacht	Do.			1661	
		Mary yacht	Do.				
		Diamond	Do.			1664	Slain in fight with two Dutch men-of-war, April 1665
Golding, John	Second Lieutenant	Triumph	Do.			1673	Dead
Golding, John	Captain	Golden Rose prize				1681	Dead
Goodheart, Abrah^{m}	Captain	Hopeful Adventure fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Foresight	P. Rupert				
		Marygold fireship	Do.			1672	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Goodlad, Rich^d	Captain	Pembroke	Royal Highness			1665	
		Foresight	Do.			1666	Dead
Goodlad, Will^m	Lieutenant	Anne	Do.			1664	Dead
Gookin, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Warspight	Do.			1666	Dead
Gother, James	First Lieutenant	Elizabeth	King	26	Sept.	1688	
Grafton, Hen. Duke (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Grafton				1683	
Grant, Arthur	Lieutenant	Saphire	Royal Highness			1666	
Grant, Jasper	Captain	Mermaide	Do.			1665	
		Saphire	Do.				
		Reserve	Do.			1672	Discharged by a court-martial, 167$\frac{3}{4}$
Granvill, Jn^o	Lieutenant. 2^d	Crowne					
	,,	Bonadventure	King	24	May	1688	
	,,	Bristoll	L^d Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Graydon, Jn^o	Second Lieutenant	Charles galley	King	17	June	1685	
	First do.	Mary	Do.	29	May	1688	
	Captain	Saudadoes	Do.	9	Sept.		
Greene, Charles	Captain	Unicorn fireship				1667	Dead
Greene, Levi	Lieutenant	Maryland Merchant	Royal Highness			1665	
		Delft prize	Do.				
	Captain	John and Thomas	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Unicorne	Do.				
		Diamond				1671	
		Greenwich	Royal Highness			1672	Discharged by a court-martial. Dead
Greene, Rich^d	Captain	Sorlings	Do.			1660	Dead
Greene, Will^m	Captain	Hambrough fire-ship				1672	
		Do.				1673	
Greenway, Jam^s	Lieutenant	Richmond	King	24	May	1688	
		Diamond	Do.	30	August		

Gregory, Will^{m}	Captain		Dolphin fireship	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Gregory, Will^{m}	Lieutenant		Exchange hired	Do.			1665	
	First do.		Monke	Do.			1672	
	Lieutenant		Portland	King	10	April	1677	Dead
Griffith, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant		Greenwich	Royal Highness			1668	
			Portland	Do.			1668	
	Captain		Holmes	Do.			1672	
			Hampshire	Do.			1673	
			Castle frigate	King	20	March	$167\frac{3}{4}$	
			Diamond	Do.	15	June	1674	
			Jersey	Do.	12	Nov.	1677	
			Yorke	Do.	12	April	1678	Dead
Grift, Will^{m}	Captain		Katherine hospital				1672	
			Do.				1673	Dead
Grimsditch, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant		Kingfisher	King	14	April	1685	
	Captain		Half-moon fireship	Do.	27	April	1688	
			Larke	Do.	23	July		
Grove, Edward	Captain		Merlin	Royal Highness			1661	
			Martin	Do.			1663	
			Success	Do.			1664	Dead
Grove, John	Captain		Pembroke				1659	Dead
Grove, John	Captain		Frogg dogger				1673	Dead
Groves, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	2^{d}	Royall James	King	15	March	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		,,	Sweepstakes	Do.	4	Jan.	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
		,,	Faulcon	Commissioners	30	Oct.	1680	
		,,	Diamond	Do.	30	June	1683	Dead
Gunman, Christopher	Captain		Orange prize	Royal Highness			1666	
			Reserve	Do.			1667	
			Forrester	Do.			1669	
			Anne yacht	Do.			1669	
		2^{d}	Prince	Do.			1672	
	Captain		Ann yacht				1673	
			Mary do.	King	23	Sept.	1677	
			Do.	Commissioners	22	Oct.	1681	
			Do.	Do.	23	June	1682	Turned out by a court-martial for the loss of the Gloucester. Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Gunman, Will^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Bristoll	Admiral Herbert	1	April	1682	Dead
Gurling, Thom^{s}	Captain	Barbadoes Mercht.				1666	
		Do.				1667	Dead
Guy, John	First Lieutenant	Deptford	King	13	Sept.	1668	
Guy, Leonard	Captain	Paradox	Royal Highness			1667	
		Drake	Do.			1668	Dead
Guy, Thomas	Captain	Oxford	Do.			1665	
		Assurance	Do.			1666	
		Portsmouth	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Henrietta yacht	Royal Highness			1670	
		Portland	Do.			1672	
		Henrietta yacht					
		S^{t} Michael	Royal Highness			1673	
		Henrietta yacht					
		Portsmouth yacht	King	13	April	1674	Dead
Haddock, Joseph	First Lieutenant	Lyon	Royal Highness			1672	
		Charles	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Swallow	King	12	April	1678	
Haddock, S^{r} Ric^{d}	Captain	Portland	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Royall James	Royal Highness			1672	
		Lyon	Do.				
		Royal Charles	Do.			1673	
		Soveraigne	P. Rupert				
		Duke	Commissioners	1	June	1682	
Haddock, Rich^{d}	Captain	Thomas and Ann fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Ann & Christopher do.	Pr. Rupert			1673	
		Quaker ketch	King	9	April	1677	Died 1678
Hales, John	Second Lieutenant	Happy Return	King	17	June	1685	
	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick	Do.	24	May	1688	
	First do.	Lion	L^{d} Dartmouth	26	Nov.		

Hall, Robert	Captain	Princesse	Pr. Rupert			1661	Dead
Hall, Sam^l	Lieutenant	S^t Andrew	Royal Highness			1664	
		Vanguard	Do.			1665	
		Royall Oake	Do.				
		Ruby	King	30	April	1678	
Hamilton, Tho^s	Lieutenant	Rupert	Royal Highness			1666	
		Mary	Do.			1667	
	Captain	Deptford ketch	Do.			1668	
		Nightingale					
		Mermaide				167½	
		Constant Warwick	Royal Highness			1672	
		Mary Rose	Do.			1673	
		Margarett galley	King	18	June	1675	
		Charles galley	Do.	11	Jan.	1676	
		Dragon	Commissioners	4	March	168½	
		Kingfisher	King	23	March	168⅘	Dead
Hammond, Edw^d	Lieutenant	Jersey	Do.	15	Sept.	1688	
Hammond, Tho.	Captain	Drake				1666	
Hammond, W^m	Lieutenant	Foresight				1662	
		Expedition	Royal Highness			1663	
		S^t Andrew	Do.			1664	
	Captain	Colchester	Do.			1665	
		Bonadventure	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Slain in fight with the Dutch at the taking of Surinam, 1667
Hannam, Willoug^{by}	Captain	Kent	Royal Highness			1660	
		Rainbow	Do.			1664	
		Resolution	Do.			1665	
		Mary	Do.			1666	
		Old James	Do.			1668	
		S^t George	Do.			1672	
		Triumph	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Harboard, S^r Char.	First Lieutenant	Royall James	Royal Highness			1672	Lost with the Royall James, 28 May, 1672
Hare, Josias	Captain	John fireship				1667	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Harly, Jnº	Captain	Willoughby				1667	Dead
Harman, Sʳ Jnº	Captain	Gloucester				1664	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)	Lieutenant	Royall Charles	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Resolution	Do.				
		Revenge					
		Henry	Royal Highness				
		Lyon	Do.			1667	
		Defyance	Do.			1668	
		Sᵗ David	Do.			1669	
		Charles the 2ᵈ	Do.			1672	
		London	Do.			1673	Dead
Harman, Jnº	Second Lieutenant	Charles	Do.			1672	
	First do.	London	Do.			1673	Dead
Harman, Thoˢ.	Lieutenant	Adventure				1671	
	Captain	Tyger	Royal Highness			1672	
		Saphire	King	12	June	1675	Dead
Harman, Wᵐ	Second Lieutenant	Mountague	Royal Highness			1672	
	Lieutenant	Sᵗ George	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Guernsey	P. Rupert				
		Bristoll	Do.				
		Do.	King	15	April	1674	
		Guernsey	Do.	27	March	1677	Slain
Harman, Willᵐ	Lieutenant	New Castle	Do.	26	Sept.	1688	
Harrigate, Robᵗ	Lieutenant	Royall Catherine	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Harrington, Gilbᵗ	Lieutenant	Unity	D. Albemarle			1665	
Harris, Jnº	Lieutenant	Sweepstakes	King	12	Dec.	1673	
		Sᵗ George					
	Captain	Cutter sloop					
	Lieutenant	Guernsey				1675	
	Captain	Emsworth sloop	Sir John Narbrough	31	August	1678	
		Sampson fireship	King	25	April	1688	

Harris, Joseph.	Captain	Lezard fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Wild Bear [Boar] do.					
	First Lieutenant	Diamond	Royal Highness			1671	
	Captain	Ann and Judith fireship	Do.			1672	
		Emsworth sloop	Do.				
		Nightingale	R^{l} H^{s}, P. Rupert			1673	
		Constant Warwick	Do.				
		Quaker ketch	King	22	April	1675	Condemned to death by a court-martial for suffering dishonour, but pardoned, and since deceased
Harris, Leon^{d}	Captain	Dolphin fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Little Victory do.	Do.			1668	
		Castle do.	Do.			1672	
		S^{t} George	P. Rupert			1673	
		Guernsey	Royal Highness				
		Success	King	29	Nov.		
		Massenbird hired	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Rainbow guardship	Do.	30	Nov.		
		Mary guardship	Commissioners	22	August	1679	Dead
Harrison, Edw^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Rupert	King	9	Jan.	1673	
	Lieutenant	Hampshire	Do.	20	Nov.	1677	
	Second do.	Bristoll	Sir John Narbrough	14	Jan.	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
	Lieutenant	New Castle	Admiral Herbert	8	May	1682	
		Centurion	King	7	August	1684	
	First do.	Crowne	Do.	18	July	1686	Dead
Harrison, Lancel^{t}	Lieutenant	Guernsey		15	Sept.	1668	
		Do.	King	14	Sept.	1677	Dead
Harrison, Mark	Lieutenant	Phoenix	Do.	4	Nov.	1688	
Harrison, Mark	Captain	Elias	Royal Highness			1660	
		Rainbow	Do.			1663	
		Centurion				1665	
		Unicorne				1666	
		Rainbow				1672	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission.			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Hart, Jn^{o}, sen^{r}	Captain	Bristoll	Royal Highness			1664	
		Revenge				1665	
		Rainbowe	Royal Highness			1666	
		Loyal Subject	Do.			1667	
		French Ruby	Do.			1668	
		Portland	Do.				
		Rupert	Do.			1671	
		Revenge	Do.			1672	Dead
Hart, Jn^{o}, jun^{r}	Lieutenant	Royall Katherine	Do.			1664	Dead
Hart, Samuel	Lieutenant	East India Merchant				1666	
Hartley, Mark	Lieutenant	Cambridge	Royal Highness			1668	
	Third do.	London	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Woolwich sloop	King	12	July	1677	Dead
Harvy, Edw^{d}	Captain	Hester fireship				1673	
Harwell, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant	Assistance				1665	
Harwood, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Henry	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Returne	Do.			1665	
	First Lieutenant	Prince	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Drake	Do.			1667	
	Second do.	S^{t} Andrew	Do.			1672	Dead
Haselgrave, Jn^{o}	Captain	Breda	Do.			1661	Dead
Hastings, Anth^{ny}	First Lieutenant	Assurance	Do.			1666	
	Second do.	Cambridge				1672	
		Do.	King	23	Oct.	1673	
	Captain	Quaker ketch				1676	
	First Lieutenant	Harwich	King	16	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Royal Charles	Do.	2	May	1678	
	Lieutenant	James galley	Commissioners	4	Nov.	1679	
	First do.	Bristoll	Admiral Herbert	23	August	1680	
	Captain	Saphire	Do.	22	April	1681	
		Woolwich	King	1	Oct.	1688	

Hatubb, Robᵗ .	Captain	George hired	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	Dead
Haughton, Hen.	Lieutenant . 2ᵈ	Kingfisher	King	4	July	1686	
	,,	Reserve	Do.	24	May	1688	
	,,	Advice	Do.	23	August		
Haughton, Jnº	First Lieutenant .	Unicorne	Royal Highness	30	April	1670	
	Second do.	Sᵗ George	Do.	.	. .	1672	
		Bonadventure	Do.	.	. .	1673	
	Lieutenant .	Assistance	King	28	April	1675	
	First do.	Faulcon	Do.	10	April	1677	
		Unicorne	Do.	.	. .	1678	
	Lieutenant .	Dover	Commissioners	14	July	1679	
Haward, Char.	Captain	Merlin yacht	Royal Highness	.	. .	1665	
		Guardland	Do.	.	. .	1666	
	Lieutenant .	Assistance	. . . .	.	. .	1672	Dead
Haward, Thomˢ	Lieutenant .	Mary	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
	Captain	Prudent Mary	Do.	.	. .	1665	Slain in the attempt on the Dutch East India ships at Bergen, 1665
Hawkins, Char.	Second Lieutenant	Sedgmore	King	10	May	1687	
Hays, George .	Second Lieutenant	Dover	Do.	3	May	1688	
	Do.	Mary	Lᵈ Dartmouth	.	. .	1688	
Hayward, Jº, senʳ	Captain	Plymouth	. . . .	.	. .	1660	
		Dover	Royal Highness	.	. .		
		Reserve	Do.	.	. .	1664	De
		Dunkirke	Do.	.	. .	1665	
		Sᵗ George	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
		Baltimore	Royal Highness	.	. .	1667	
		Yorke	Do.	.	. .	1668	
		Foresight	Do.	.	. .	166	
		Old James	Do.	.	. .	16 34	
		Soveraigne	Do.	.	. .	16 666	
		Royall Charles	P. Rupert	.	. .	16 671	nds re-
						672	the battle
						673	ne Dutch,
						674	ust, 1673
Hayward, Jº, junʳ	Second Lieutenant	Old James	Royal Highness	.	. .	167 77	May, 1672
						84	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commissio			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Heath, John	Lieutenant	Anne	Royal Highness			1661	
	First do.	New Castle				1662	
	Captain	Barbadoes Merchant fireship	Royal Highness			1664	
	First Lieutenant	Victory	P. Rupert			1673	
		French Ruby	King	30	March	1678	.d
Heathcock, Jnº	Captain	Golden hand fireship	P. Rupert			1672	
Helling, Daniel	Captain	Colchester	Royal Highness			1664	
		Centurion	Do.			1665	
		Lyon	Do.				
		Dragon	Do.				
		Mountague	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Bristoll	Do.			1668	
		Mary	Sir Edward Spragg			1669	Dead
Heminton, Gilbᵗ	Lieutenant	Unity				1665	
		Do.				1666	
Hemskirk, Van, St. Lawrence	Captain	Nonsuch	Royal Highness			1668	Dead
Hendra, Thomˢ	Captain	Eagle hired	Do.			1665	Dead
Herbert, Arthʳ (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Lieutenant	Defyance	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Pembroke	Do.				
		Constant Warwick	Do.			1667	
		Dragon	Do.			1669	
		Dreadnought	Do.			1672	
		Cambridge	Do.				
		Rupert	King	5	Nov.	1677	
		Bristoll	Commissioners	18	Dec.	1679	
		Tyger				1682	
Herbert, Char.	Captain	Revenge				1664	
	Lieutenant	Royall James				1671	Dead
Haselwood, Jnº	Lieutenant	Dreadnought				1667	

	Second Lieutenant	Henry	Royal Highness			1672	
		Do.				1673	
Hewitt, John	Captain	Blew Boar fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
Heywood, Pet^{r}	Second Lieutenant	Resolution	King	13	Oct.	1673	
	First do.	S^{t} David	Do.	27	Dec.		
	Lieutenant	Phoenix	Do.	29	Jan.	1675	
	Captain	Norwich	Do.	12	April	1678	
Hide, Henry	Lieutenant	Yarmouth	Royal Highness			1662	
		Rainbow	Do.			1663	
	Captain	Lizard	Do.			1664	
		Saphire	Do.			1664	Dead
Hide, Hugh	Captain	Adventure	Do.			1661	
		Richmond	Do.			1662	
		Guinny	Do.			1663	
		Jersey	Do.			1664	Dead
Hide, James	Second Lieutenant	Gloucester	Commissioners	11	April	1682	Drowned
Hide, Jonath^{n}	Captain	Albemarle hired	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Hideman, W^{m}	Lieutenant	East-India Merchant				1666	
Higginson, Sam^{l}	Captain	Eagle				1660	Dead
Hill, Nicholas	Captain	Monmouth yacht	Royal Highness			1665	
		Spye shallop	Do.			1668	
		Saudadoes				1669	
		Eaglett ketch				1669	Dead
Hill, Rich^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Edgar	King	30	April	1678	Dead
Hill, Will^{m}	Captain	Augustine	Royal Highness			1661	
		Elias	Do.			1663	
		Coventry	Do.			1664	Dead
Hilsow, Geor.	Captain	Paul fireship	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Hoare, Abrah^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Mountague	King	30	April	1678	
Hobbs, Will^{m}	Captain	Levant Merchant	P. Rupert			1672	
		Andalusia	King	12	April	1678	
Hodder, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Anthelope				1664	
		Dover	Royal Highness			1666	
		Do.	Do.			1671	
	First do.	Rainbow	Do.			1672	
		Portland	Do.			1673	
		Guardland	King	9	March	1674	
	Captain	Do.	Do.	23	April	1677	
	First Lieutenant	Phoenix	Do.	2	Oct.	1684	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Hodges, Richard	Captain	Guernsey	Royal Highness			1660	
		Westergate	Do.			1662	
		Swallow	Do.			1664	Dead
Hodges, Sam^{l}.	Second Lieutenant	Royall Charles	King	2	May	1678	Dead
Holden, Will^{m}	Captain	Cygnett	Royal Highness			1666	
		London hired	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Chatham galliot				1667	
	Lieutenant	Old James	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1668	
		Centurion	Do.			1669	
	First do.	Charles	Do.			1672	
	Second Captain	Do.	Do.				
		London	King			1673	
	Captain	Assurance	Do.	22	April	1675	
		Assistance	Do.	27	April		
		Unicorne	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Advice guardship at Portsmouth	Do.	30	Nov.		
		Woolwich	Commissioners	18	April	1682	Dead
Holditch, Abrah^{m}	Captain	Sophia				1661	
	Lieutenant	Revenge	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Maers prize	Do.				
		Bendish				1665	Dead
Holland, Gilbert	Lieutenant	Charles the 5th	Royal Highness			1665	
		Cambridge	Do.			1666	
Holland, John	First Lieutenant	S^{t} Andrew	Do.			1673	
Holland, Ph.	Captain	Loyal Merchant	Do.			1666	Dead
Holland, Rob^{t}.	Captain	Tulipp dogger	Royal Highness			1673	
Hollis, S^{r} Freshvill	Captain	Anthelope	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Henrietta	Do.				
		Cambridge	Royal Highness			1667	
		Do.	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672

Holmes, James	Second Lieutenant	Triumph	Royal Highness			1672	
Holmes, S^{r} John (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Jersey				1664	
	Lieutenant	Centurion	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	S^{t} Paul	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Bristoll	Do.				
		Tryumph					
		Faulcon	Royal Highness			1668	
		Kent	Do.				
		Nonsuch	Do.			1669	
		Bristoll				1670	
		Diamond	Royal Highness			1671	
		Gloucester				1672	
		Rupert	Royal Highness				
		Royall Charles	P. Rupert			1673	
		Mountague	King	12	April	1677	
		Charles	Do.	26	March	1678	
		Captaine	Do.	9	Sept.	1678	Dead
Holmes, John	Captain	Lenox yacht	Royal Highness			1668	
		Thomas & Edward fireship	Do.			1672	Dead
Holmes, S^{r} Rob^{t} (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Bramble	L^{d} Sandwich			1660	
		True Love guardship	Royal Highness				
		Henrietta guardship	Do.			1660	
		Henrietta	Do.			1660	
		Charles	Do.			1661	
		Reserve	Do.			1662	
		Jersey	Do.			1663	
		Revenge	Do.			1665	
		Defyance	Do.			1666	
		Henry	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Defyance	Royal Highness			1668	
		Cambridge	Do.				
		S^{t} Michael	Do.			1672	
Hooke, Arthur	Lieutenant	Morning Starr	P. Rupert			1672	
		Adventure				1673	
		Mermaide	King	9	April	1677	
		Reserve	Do.	10	April	1678	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Hooke, Edmond	Second Lieutenant	Lyon	King	25	April	1678	Dead
Hooper, James	Lieutenant	Loyal Merchant	Royal Highness			1666	
Hooper, Robert	Captain	Harpe	Do.			1665	
	Lieutenant	Spye shallop	Do.			1667	
		Rupert				1671	
		Revenge				1672	
Hopson, Thom^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Dreadnought	Royal Highness			1672	
	First do.	Dragon	King	10	Dec.	1676	
		Centurion	Do.	5	Nov.	1677	
		Mary	Do.	10	Dec.		
	Captain	Tiger prize	V. Admiral Herbert	21	March	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Swan	Commissioners	10	Jan.	$168\frac{1}{2}$	
		Bonadventure	King	18	May	1688	
Horne, Count	Lieutenant	Revenge				1671	
		Rupert				1672	
	Captain	Constant Warwick	Royal Highness				
		Henrietta	P. Rupert			1673	
Horner, Henry	Third Lieutenant	Prince	Royal Highness			1673	Dead
Hoskins, Benja^{n}	Captain	Cleveland yacht	King	15	Sept.	1688	
Hovenden, Walk^{r}	Second Lieutenant	S^{t} David	L^{d} Dartmouth	30	Oct.	1688	
How, John	Lieutenant	Phoenix	King			1675	
		Do.	Do.	23	April	1675	Dead
Howes, Will^{m}	Captain	Virgin fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
Hubbard, Jn^{o}	Captain	Greyhound				1662	
		Mathias	Royal Highness			1664	
		Centurion	Do.			1666	
		Leopard	Do.				
		Old James	Do.			1668	
		Victory	Do.				
		Faulcon	Do.			1670	Dead

Hubbard, Jnº	Captain	Returne	Royal Highness			1665	
		Hilversome	Do.				
		Lyon	Do.				
		Royal Charles	P. Rupert			1666	
		Rupert	Royal Highness			1667	
		Plymouth	Do.			1668	Slain in fight with some Algier men-of-war in the Streights, 1668
		Milford	Do.				
		Assistance	Do.				
Hubbard, Jnº	Second Lieutenant	Foresight	King	13	July	1688	
	First do.	Do.	Do.	16	August		
Hudson, Jamˢ	First Lieutenant	French Ruby	Do.	30	April	1678	Dead
Hudson, Richᵈ	Captain	Dover dogger	Do.			1673	Dead
Huggate, Hopkins	Captain of a	Sattee	Royal Highness			1667	
Hughs, Willᵐ	Lieutenant	East India Merchant	Do.			1666	
Hull, John	Captain	Isle of Wight				1673	
Humble, Willᵐ	Captain	Sᵗ Jacob fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Prosperous do.	Do.				
		Do.	Do.			1667	
		Ann & Christopher fireship	Do.			1672	Dead
Humphrys, Thoˢ	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	King	26	July	1687	
Hunlock, Hen.	Lieutenant	Princesse	Royal Highness			1661	
		Mary				1662	
Hunt, Henry	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick	Royal Highness			1672	
		Swann prize	King	1	Dec.	1673	
Hutton, Jnº	Captain	Vine ketch				1666	
Hyat, Abrahᵐ	Captain	Dover dogger	King			1673	Dead
Jackson, Ralph	Lieutenant	Rainbow				1672	
		Reserve	King	20	Oct.	1673	
		Dartmouth	Do.	22	April	1675	
Jacob, Thomˢ	First Lieutenant	Royall Oake	Royal Highness			1665	
		Society	Do.			1667	
		Victory				1668	
		Henry	Royal Highness				
	Captain	Hannibal hired	King	11	May	1678	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
James, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Plymouth				1660	
		Happy Returne	Royal Highness			1664	
		Centurion	Do.				
		Dover	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Providence	Do.				
		Unicorne	Do.			1672	
		Foresight	Do.			1673	
		Portland	King	4	April	1677	Dead
Jaques, Will^{m}	Captain	Hopewell galliot				1667	
		Hardereene				1671	
		Francis guardship				1672	
		Wivenhoe fireship	Royal Highness			1673	
		Eagle do.	King	17	May	1678	Dead
Jefferys, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	London	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Assurance	Do.				
		Plymouth	Do.			1665	
		Cambridge	Do.			1666	Dead
Jeffery, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Unicorne				1672	
Jemmett, W^{m}	Captain	Fortunate Mary				1673	
Jenifer, John	Lieutenant	Barnaby	P. Rupert			1672	
		Assistance	King	20	Nov.	1677	
		Guernsey	Commissioners	12	March	16$\frac{79}{80}$	
	First do.	Nonsuch	King	10	May	1687	
		Guardland fireship	Do.	29	August	1688	
Jenkinson, Edw^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Unicorne	Royal Highness			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Jennens, S^{r} Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Adventure	Do.			1661	
		Gloucester	Do.			1664	
		Portland	Do.				
	Captain	Ruby	Do.	11	Oct.		

		Saphire	Royal Highness			1666	
		Lyon	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Princesse	Royal Highness			1670	
		Victory	Do.			1673	
		Gloucester	P. Rupert				
		French Ruby	King	26	March	1678	
		Royall James guard-ship at Portsmouth	Do.	30	Nov.		
		Jersey	Do.	18	July	1686	
		Rupert	Do.	15	Sept.	1688	
		Warrspight	L^{d} Dartmouth			1688	
Jennifer, Jam^{s}	Lieutenant	Dover	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Seven Oakes	Do.			1666	
		Saudadoes	The Queen			1671	
		Do.	King	2	Dec.	1674	Dead
Jennings, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Pearle	Do.	12	May	1687	
	1st	S^{t} David	Do.	27	August	1688	
		Swallow	L^{d} Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Jennings, Thom^{s}	First Lieutenant	Pendennis	King	30	Sept.	1688	
Johnson, Ewen	Lieutenant	West-friesland				1665	Dead
Johnson, Fran^{s}	Captain	King Ferdinando	Royal Highness			1665	
Johnson, Fran^{s}	Lieutenant	Revenge	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Johnson, Jeremy	Captain	Casimir dogger	Royal Highness			1667	Dead
Johnson, John	Captain	Little Gift	Do.			1664	
Johnson, John	Lieutenant	Black Eagle				1665	
	Captain	Charles fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Orangetree do.	P. Rupert			1672	
Johnson, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Successe	Commissioners	23	June	1679	
		Foresight	Do.	4	Nov.	1682	
	First do.	Reserve	King	19	June	1685	
		Hampshire	Do.	29	April	1687	
	Captain	Swann fireship	Do.	30	August	1688	
Johnstone, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Black Eagle	D. Albemarle			1665	
Jones, Daniel	Third Lieutenant	S^{t} Andrew	Royal Highness			1673	
	Lieutenant	Nonsuch	King	1	May	1677	
	First do.	Royall Charles	Do.	5	April	1678	
	Captain	Mermaid	King	12	April	1678	
		Diamond	Commissioners	18	April	1682	
		Do.	King	1	June	1684	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Jones, Morgan	Captain	Kinsale	Royal Highness			1660	
		Satisfaction	Do.			1662	
		Fox	Do.				
Jones, Robert	Captain	John & James smack				1667	
Jones, Roger	Captain	Cygnett	D. Albemarle			1665	
Jones, Will^{m}	Captain	Isabella yacht	Royal Highness			1667	
Jorden, S^{r} Joseph (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	S^{t} George	Do.			1664	
		Royall Oake	Do.			1665	
		Victory				1668	
		Henry	Royal Highness				
		Soveraigne	Do.			1672	Dead
Jowles, Henry	Lieutenant	Hampshire	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Jowles, Valent^{n}	Captain	Dolphin	Royal Highness			1660	
Joy, John	Captain	Buck dogger				1673	Dead
Isles, William	Lieutenant	Assistance	Royal Highness			1670	Dead
Jumper, Will^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Resolution	L^{d} Dartmouth	29	Nov.	1688	
Juxon, Charles	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	Royal Highness			1662	
		Swallow	Do.			1664	
	Captain	Land of Promise				1665	
		Paul fireship	Royal Highness			1666	
		Golden Heart				1667	
		Little Francis fireship	Royal Highness			1671	Dead
Keeble, Henry	Captain	Elizabeth & Mary fireship				1667	
Keech, Maximil.	Lieutenant	Mary & Martha hoy	P. Rupert			1672	
		Soveraigne	King	30	April	1678	
		S^{t} David	Commissioners	30	July	1679	Dead
Keene, John	Lieutenant	Dover				1668	
	First do.	Assistance	Royal Highness			1670	
	Captain	Welcome				1670	

		Stavareen	Royal Highness			1673	
		Yarmouth	Pr. Rupert			1673	Dead
Kelby, Robert	Lieutenant	Warspight				1668	
Kelsey, John	Captain	Little Unicorne fireship	Royal Highness			1665	
		Gift do.	Do.			1666	
		Loyal London					
		Constant John fire-ship	Royal Highness				
		Fanfan	Do.			1669	
		Hardereen fireship	Do.			1671	
		Rachel do.	Do.			1672	
		Friendship do.				1673	Dead
Kempthorn, Sr Jo (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Kent	Royal Highness			1664	
		Dunkirke	Do.				
		Royall James	Do.				
		Old James	Do.			1665	
		Royall Charles				1666	
		Defiance	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Warspight	Royal Highness			1668	
		Mary Rose	Do.				
		Victory				1671	
		St Andrew	Royal Highness			1672	
		Do.	Do.			1673	
		Royall Charles	King	26	March	1678	Dead
Kempthorn, Jno	Lieutenant	Fairfax	Royal Highness			1672	
	Captain	Monmouth yacht	Do.			1673	
		Dover	King	12	April	1678	
Kempthorne, Morgan	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	Royal Highness			1671	
	Second do.	St Andrew	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Monmouth yacht	King	10	Nov.	1673	
		Kingfisher	Commissioners	21	Oct.	1679	Slain in fight with the Turk's men-of-war
Kempthorn, Wm	Lieutenant	Dunkirke	Royal Highness			1664	
		Resolution	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Martin.	Do.				
		Richmond	Do.			1666	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Kent, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	John & Catherine	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Swallow	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Kerke, Charles	Captain	Lenox yacht				1678	
		James galley	Admiral Herbert	6	Sept.	1681	Dead
Kerr, William	Second Lieutenant	Pendennis	King	13	Sept.	1688	
Kevell, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	French Ruby				1673	
Kigwin, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Sancta Maria				1665	
	Captain	Eagle fireship	P. Rupert			1672	
Killigrew, Hen.	Lieutenant	Cambridge	Royal Highness			1666	
		Saphire	Do.			1667	
		Constant Warwick	Do.			1668	
	Captain	Forrester	Do.			1672	
		Bonadventure	Do.			1673	
		Monck	P. Rupert				
		Swan prize	King	9	March	1674	
		Harwich	Do.	22	April	1675	
		Henrietta					
		Bristoll	King	7	Jan.	1677	
		Royall Oake	Do.	20	March	1678	
		Mary	Sir John Narbrough	14	Jan.	$167\frac{8}{9}$	
		Leopard	Commissioners	3	Jan.	1679	
		Foresight	Do.	27	Jan.		
		Mountague	Do.	1	May	1683	
		Mordaunt	King	20	May	1684	
		Dragon	Do.	11	July	1686	
Killigrew, Jam^{s}	Lieutenant	Portsmouth	Do.	5	Sept.	1688	
	1st	S^{t} Albans				1688	
King, John	Captain	Giles ketch	Royal Highness			1661	
		Hawke do.					
		Hind do.	Royal Highness			1663	
		Mermaid	Do.			1664	
		Diamond	Do.			1665	Dead
Kirby, Rob^{t}	Captain	Ruby	Do.			1660	

		Constant Warwick	Royal Highness			1661	
		Breda	Do.			1664	Dead
Kirke, John	Lieutenant	Monmouth	Royal Highness			1667	
		Mary	Do.				
	Third do.	London	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Kingfisher	Do.	16	March	1675	
		Lenox				1678	
		Hampton Court				1678	Dead
Kirke, Percy	Second Lieutenant	Mary	L^{d} Dartmouth	19	Dec.	1688	
Kitson, Francis	Lieutenant	Greenwich					
Kitvill, J^{no}	Lieutenant	Asia hired	King	30	April	1678	
Knevett, Thom^{s}	Captain	Giles ketch	Royal Highness			1663	
		Lilly	Do.			1664	
		Richmond	Do.				
		Argier	Do.			1672	Dead
Lake, Francis	Lieutenant	Holmes				1673	
Lake, Henry	Lieutenant	Mountague				1665	
		Greenwich				1678	
Lambert, Dav^{d}	Captain	Norwich	Royal Highness			1661	
Lambert, Jam^{s}.	Captain	Anne yacht	Do.			1661	
		Happy Return	Do.			1664	
		Anne				1665	Slain in fight with some Dutch ships
Lamming, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Happy Returne	Royal Highness			1664	
		Henry	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain	Ruby	Do.			1666	Dead
Land, Henry	Captain	Weymouth pink				1660	Dead
Langley, Thom^{s}	Captain	Colchester ketch	Royal Highness			1665	
		Lilly	Do.			1666	
		Roe ketch	Do.				
		True Love	Do.			1667	
Langreek, Jam^{s}	Lieutenant	Wellcome	D. Albemarle			1665	
Langston, Anth^{ny}	First Lieutenant	Vanguard	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Do.	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Royall Exchange	Royal Highness			1667	
		Princesse	Do.				
		New Castle	Do.			1670	
		Bristoll	King	26	March	1678	
		Royall Oake	Sir John Narbrough	14	Jan.	167$\frac{8}{9}$	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Large, Thomas	Captain	Larke	Royal Highness			1660	
Lassells, Ralph	Captain	Society hired	Do.			1665	
		George hired	Do.			1666	
		Reserve	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Assurance	P. Rupert			1672	
		Yarmouth	Do.			1673	
		Guardland	King	9	March	1674	Died May 1677
Laton, John	Second Lieutenant	Faulcon				1685	
		Bristoll	King	9	August		
	First do.	Do.	Do.	10	May	1687	
	Captain	Larke	Do.	15	June	1688	
(*Vide* Layton and Leighton)		Mary	Do.	23	July		
		St Albans	Ld Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Lately, John	Lieutenant	Eagle	King			1673	
Lately, Oliver	Lieutenant	Swann	Do.	31	May	1678	
Lately, Philip	Lieutenant	Royall Charles				1668	
	First do.	Soveraigne	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Laughorne, Arthr	Lieutenant	Princesse				1660	
	Captain	Drake	Royal Highness			1661	
		Pembroke	Do.			1662	
		Oxford	Do.			1663	
		Bonadventure	Do.				
		Revenge	Do.			1665	
		Colchester	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Lost in her in fight with a French ship in the West Indies, 1667
Laung, Willm (*Vide* Long)	Lieutenant	Slothany				1666	
Lawrence, Joseph	Second Lieutenant	Mountague	Commissioners	1	May	1683	
		Mordaunt	King	1	June	1684	Dead

Lawry, Mark	Lieutenant	Plymouth	Royal Highness			1666	
		Do.	Do.			1668	
		Faulcon	Do.			1670	
Lawson, Aaron	Lieutenant	Advice	Do.			1665	
		Diamond				1665	Dead
Lawson, S^r J^{no}	Captain	London	Royal Highness			1660	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)		Swiftsure	Do.			1661	
		Resolution	Do.			1662	
		Swiftsure	Do.			1664	
		Royal Oake	Do.			1665	
		London				1665	Died of wound received in the battle with the Dutch, 3 June, 1665
Lawson, Philip	Lieutenant	Norwich	Sir H. Morgan			1681	
Lawson, Thom^s	Captain	Coast				1665	Dead
Lawson, Will^m	Captain	Coast frigate	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Layton, Henry	Captain	Country['s] Welfare	P. Rupert			1673	Dead
(*Vide* Laton and Leighton)							
Leake, John	Captain	Fire-Drake bomber	King	24	Sept.	1688	
Ledger, Edward	Lieutenant	Clove-tree	Royal Highness			1666	
		Portland				1667	
Lee, William	Captain	Fortune fireship	Royal Highness			1665	
		Paul do.	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Olive-branch do.	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Legat, Thom^s	Captain	Fountaine	Do.			1665	
		Norwich	Do.			1670	
		Nonsuch	Do.			1672	Dead
Legg, George	Captain	Pembroke	Do.			1667	
(*Vide* Dartmouth in Flag Officers)		Fairfax	Do.			1672	
		Yorke	Do.				
		Royal Catherine	Do.			1673	
		Grafton				1684	
Legg, Thomas	Second Lieutenant	Mary	King	24	May	1688	
		Deptford	Do.	1	June		
		Resolution	Do.	3	Sept.		
	Captain	Dartmouth fireship	L^d Dartmouth	26	Nov.		

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
L'Hostein, Gustav.	Captain	Anthelope	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	
		New Castle	King	4	April	1677	
Leighton, Tho^{s}	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	King	10	May	1679	
		Crowne	Commissioners	30	Oct.	1680	
	Captain	Two Lions Algier prize	Admiral Herbert	11	July	1682	
		Drake	Commissioners	12	July	1683	
		Larke	L^{d} Dartmouth	23	Feb.	168$\frac{3}{4}$	
		Guernsey	King	4	April	1688	
(*Vide* Laton and Layton)		Bristoll	Do.	15	June		
		S^{t} David	L^{d} Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Le Neeve, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Lion	.	.	. .	1666	
		Centurion	Royal Highness	.	. .		
		Yarmouth	Do.	.	. .	1668	
		Swallow	Do.	.	. .	1669	
	Captain	Phoenix	Do.	.	. .	1671	
		Plymouth	Do.	.	. .	1672	
		Edgar	P. Rupert	.	. .	1673	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 11 August, 1673
Leonard, Solomon	Captain	George dogger	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	Dead
Lestock, Rich^{d}	Captain	Gabriel fireship	.	.	. .	1667	
Leventhorpe, Edw^{d}	Captain	Beare	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
Ley, Thomas	Lieutenant	Dartmouth	King	16	April	1678	
		Orangetree	Commissioners	.	. .	1682	
		Mermaide	Do.	.	. .		
		Do.	King	1	June	1684	
		Do.	Do.	1	April	1685	
	Captain	Mermaide fireship	Do.	24	Oct.	1688	
Licorris, Jn^{o}	Captain	Unicorn fireship	Royal Highness	.	. .	1666	
Lidale	Lieutenant	Unicorne	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	Dead

Liddall, Willm	Lieutenant	St George				1665	
		French Ruby	Royal Highness			1672	
	1st	Rainbow	Do.			1673	
	,,	Nonsuch	King			1678	
Liddell, George	Lieutenant	Assurance	Royal Highness			1661	
		Monck					
		Hampshire	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Hare fireship				1665	
		Roebuck	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Lightfoot, Jno.	Captain	Speedwell	Do.			1665	
		Elizabeth	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Lightfoot, Paul	Lieutenant	Baltimore				1666	Dead
Lightfoot, Philp	Lieutenant	Do.	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Yarmouth	Do.				
		Yorke	Royal Highness			1668	
Lindsey, Michel	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick	Do.			1661	
	Captain	Wellcome	D. Albemarle			1665	Dead
Littlefaire, Wm	Lieutenant	Providence	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Phoenix	Royal Highness			1673	
Littleton, George	Second Lieutenant	Defyance	King	9	Sept.	1688	
Littleton, Wm	Second Lieutenant	Lyon	Do.			1673	
Lock, James	Captain	Roe ketch	Royal Highness			1665	
Lock, Thoms	Captain	Giles do.	Do.			1665	
Logan, Andrew	Lieutenant	Mathias	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Royal Exchange	Royal Highness			1667	
		Hambrough Merchant	Do.			1667	
		Saphire	Do.			1669	Executed by order of a court-martial, 1670
Lomax, Jno.	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	King	30	April	1678	Dead
London, Richd	Lieutenant	Old James				1665	
		Royall James					
		Monmouth	Royal Highness			1667	
		Resolution	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Guernsey				1670	
		Mountague	Royal Highness			1671	
		Norwich	Rl Hs, P. Rupert			1672	
Long, Richd	Captain	Nightingale	Do.			1664	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Long, Robert	Lieutenant	Golden Phoenix	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain	Fanfan				1668	
Long, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Golden Phoenix	Royal Highness			1665	
		Slothany	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Resolution	Royal Highness			1668	
	Captain	Zant frigate	King	3	Feb.	1673	
	First Lieutenant	Harwich	Do.	26	April	1675	
	Captain	Europa hired	Do.	15	Sept.	1678	
(*Vide* Laung)		Loyal Subject do.	Do.	12	Dec.	1678	Dead
Lovell, Thom^{s}	Captain	Henrietta yacht	Royal Highness			} 1672	
		Katherine yacht	Do.				
		Do.	King	23	Jan.	1673	
		Assurance	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Katherine yacht	Do.	18	Oct.	1678	Dead
Low, John	Lieutenant	Eagle				1673	Dead
Lloyd, Charles	Captain	Roebuck	P. Rupert			} 1673	
		Fox sloop	Do.				
Lloyd, David	Lieutenant	Henry				1672	
	Captain	Mermaide	King	18	Sept.	1677	
		Reserve	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Dover	Do.	27	May	1679	
		Crowne	Commissioners	20	Oct.	1680	
		Sedgmoore	King	5	May	1687	
Lloyd, John	Captain	Dragon	Royal Highness			1664	
		Yarmouth	Do.			1665	
		Plymouth	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Yarmouth	Royal Highness			1668	
		Swallow	Do.			1669	
		Triumph	Do.			1672	Dead
Lloyd, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Yarmouth	Do.			1673	
		Portsmouth	King	27	April	1675	Dead

Lucas, John	Captain	Hawke ketch	. . . . .	.	. .	1673	
Ludman, Bern^{d}	Lieutenant	Royall Charles	. . . . .	.	. .	1665	
	Captain	Swallow	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
	Lieutenant	Charles	Royal Highness	.	. .	1668	
	Captain	Moncke	Do.	.	. .	1672	
		Victory	P. Rupert	.	. .	1673	Dead
Lunt, Peter	Lieutenant	Portland	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	Dead
Mabb, John	Lieutenant	Prince	. . . . .	.	. .	1673	Dead
Mackdonell, Daniel	Second Lieutenant	Nonsuch	King	10	May	1688	
Mackdonell, Randall	Third Lieutenant	Charles	Do.	29	March	1678	
	Second do.	Captaine	Do.	15	Sept.		
		Bristoll	V. A. Herbert	22	Feb.	1680	
	Captain	Golden Horse Algier prize	Admiral Herbert	27	August	1681	
		Greyhound	Commissioners	4	July	1683	
		Richmond	King	22	April	1687	
		Assurance	Do.	24	May	1688	
Mackley, Jn^{o}	Captain	Bonetta sloop	Do.	.	. .	1673	
Macklin, Jn^{o}	Second Lieutenant	Cambridge	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
	First do.	Do.	King	15	Dec.	1673	
		James galley frigate	Do.	20	Oct.	1676	
Maiden, W^{m}	Captain	Blessing fireship	Royal Highness	.	. .	1666	Dead
		Mary do.	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .		
		Camell do.	. . . . .	.	. .	1667	
Maine, John	Captain	Sampson fireship	King	17	May	1678	
Major, James	Captain & Master	Flyboat prize	Sir John Narbrough	20	Oct.	1677	
Mandry, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Swallow	King	30	April	1678	
Manley, Fran^{is}.	Second Lieutenant	Yorke	Do.	11	Oct.	1688	
Mann, Jam^{s}	Second Lieutenant	Foresight	Do.	19	August	1688	
Mansell, Anth^{ny}	Lieutenant	Sweepstakes	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
Mansell, Char.	Captain	Dolphin fireship	. . . . .	.	. .	1667	
Mansell, Phil.	Lieutenant	Rainbow	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
Mansfield, Mich^{l}	Captain	Dove sloop	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	Dead
Manwaring, George	Lieutenant	Advice	Royal Highness	.	. .	1665	
		Swallow	Do.	.	. .	1668	
Manwaring, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant. 3^{d}	Charles	Do.	.	. .	1673	
	,,	Rose	King	.	. .	1674	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Marshall, Jn^{o}	Captain	George fireship	P. Rupert			1672	
Marshall, Tho^{s}	Lieutenant	Satisfaction	Royal Highness			1665	
		Clovetree	Do.				
	Captain	Deptford ketch	Do.			1666	
		Hind dogger	Do.			1673	
	Lieutenant	Woolwich	Commissioners	4	Nov.	1679	
Martin, Hen.	First Lieutenant	Dreadnought	L^{d} Dartmouth	19	Dec.	1688	
Martin, Jn^{o}	Captain	Hope fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Chatham double sloop	King	12	July	1677	
Martin, Rob^{t}.	Captain	Dover				1660	
Martin, W^{m}.	Captain	Colchester ketch	D. Albemarle			1665	
		London hired	Royal Highness			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 25 July, 1666
Marlbrough, Earl (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Dunkirke				1661	
		Old James	Royal Highness			1665	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 3 June, 1665
Mather, Will^{m}	Captain	Golden hand fire-ship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Little Francis do.	King	1	Dec.	1673	
Marychurch, Is^{ac}	Captain	Griffith	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Mason, Christopher	Lieutenant	Soveraigne	Do.			1666	
	2^{d}	Prince	Do.			1672	
	1st	Do.	Do.				
	Captain	Dover	Do.				
		Oxford	King	26	March	1678	
Mason, John	Lieutenant 2^{d}	Old James	Royal Highness			1673	
Mason, John	Captain	Europa				1679	Dead
Masters, Charles	Lieutenant	Ruby	Royal Highness			1666	

May, Richard . .	Captain . .	Satisfaction hired .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1665	
		Hilversome . .	Do. .	.	. .		
		Clovetree . .	Do. .	.	. .		
		Gloucester . .	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
		Dragon . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1668	
		Ruby . . .	Commissioners .	18	Nov.	1682	Dead
Mayhew, Ralph .	Captain . .	Blessing fireship .	. . . . .	.	. .	1667	Dead
Mayo, Thom^{s} . .	Third Lieutenant	Royall James .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1672	
	Captain . .	Whipster brigantine	P. Rupert . .	.	. .		
	First Lieutenant.	Royal Charles .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1673	
	Captain . .	Princesse . .	P. Rupert . .	.	. .	1673	Dead
Mees, George . .	Lieutenant. .	Swann. . . .	King . . .	7	July	1686	
Meldrum, Jn^{o} . .	Lieutenant. .	Lyon . . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1665	
		Rupert . .	Do. .	.	. .	1666	
	3^{d}	S^{t} Andrew . .	P. Rupert . .	.	. .	1673	Dead
Mennes, Henry .	Lieutenant. .	Monck . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1664	
		Lyon . . .	Do. .	.	. .		
Mennes, S^{r} Jn^{o} . (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain . .	Henry . . .	Do. .	.	. .	1661	Dead
Mercer, Paul . .	Second Lieutenant	Cambridge . .	Do. .	.	. .	1672	
	First do. .	Do. . .	King . . .	15	Dec.	1673	
		James galley frigate	Commissioners .	20	Oct.	1676	
	Captain . .	Anne yacht . .	Do. .	3	April	1680	Dead
Merryweather, J^{o} .	Lieutenant. .	Coast . . .	. . . . .	.	. .	1665	
		London hired .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1666	
		East India Merchant	. . . . .	.	. .		
	Second do. .	Fairfax . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1672	Dead
Michell, Andr^{w} .	Captain . .	Emsworth sloop .	King . . .	12	July	1677	
		Woolwich do. .	V. A. Herbert .	12	June	1678	
		Deptford ketch .	Commissioners .	17	Feb.	168$\frac{2}{3}$	Dead
Michell S^{t}, Balthazar	Captain . .	Deale yacht . .	. . . . .	.	. .	1677	
Middleton, Arth^{r} .	Lieutenant. .	Castle frigate .	. . . . .	.	. .	1667	Dead
Middleton, Hugh .	Captain . .	Kinsale . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1660	
Middleton, W^{m} .	First Lieutenant.	New Castle . .	P. Rupert . .	.	. .	1673	
Miles, John . .	Lieutenant. .	Old James . .	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
Miller, Roger . .	Captain . .	Plymouth . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Millett, Henry	Lieutenant	Leopard	Royal Highness	.	. . .	1660	
		Centurion	Do.	.	. . .	1662	
		Mathias	Do.	.	. . .	1664	
	Captain	Do.	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. . .	1666	
		Society	Royal Highness	.	. . .	1667	
	Lieutenant	Hampshire	Do.	.	. . .	1669	Dead
Millison, Gabr^l	Third Lieutenant	Royall Katherine	Do.	.	. . .	1673	
	First do.	Resolution	King	.	. . .	1688	
	Captain	Katherine yacht	L^d Dartmouth	14	Dec.		
Mills, John	Lieutenant	Greenwich	Royal Highness	.	. . .	1670	
	Second do.	Warspight	Do.	.	. . .	1672	
Mingeam, Jn^o	Captain	Sarah fireship	Do.	.	. . .	1667	Dead
Mingen, Jn^o	Captain	Do.	. . . .	.	. . .	1666	Dead
Mings (*vide* Myngs)							
Minors, Ric^d	Captain	Leopard	Royal Highness	.	. . .	1661	
	Lieutenant	Old James	Do.	.	. . .	1665	
	Captain	London Merchant	P. Rupert	.	. . .	1672	
Minterne, W^m	Captain	John & Sara fireship	Royal Highness	.	. . .	1666	
		Land of Promise	Do.	.	. . .		
Mitchell, Dav^d	Second Lieutenant	Defiance	King	16	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
	First do.	Swiftsure	Do.	26	March	1678	
	Lieutenant	New Castle	Commissioners	10	August	1680	
	1st	Tyger	Admiral Herbert	8	May	1682	
	Captain	Ruby	Commissioners	1	Oct.	1683	
Mohun, Rob^t	Lieutenant	Resolution	Royal Highness	.	. . .	1660	
		Fairfax	Do.	.	. . .	1661	
	Captain	Satisfaction	Do.	.	. . .	1662	
		Oxford	Do.	.	. . .	1663	
		Portsmouth	Do.	.	. . .	1665	
		Dreadnought	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. . .	1666	Dead

Monck, Thom^s	Second Lieutenant	Royall Oake	King	30	April	1678	
	Lieutenant	Mermaid	Commissioners	11	March	1679	
		Centurion	Do.	23	May	1682	
		Crowne	King	17	June	1685	
Montgomery, James	Lieutenant	Dunkirke				1673	
		Hunter	King	30	Nov.		
		Bristoll	Do.	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	First do.	Royall Oake	Do.	29	March	1678	
		Mary				1679	
	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick	Commissioners	8	April	1681	
		Mary Rose	Do.	16	July		
		Charles galley	King	17	June	1685	
	Captain	Young Sprag	Do.	10	July	1686	
		Nonsuch	Do.	9	Sept.	1688	
Moody, Jam^s	First Lieutenant	Yorke	Do.	10	Oct.	1688	
Mootham, Pet^r	Captain	Foresight	Royal Highness			1660	
		Princesse	Do.			1665	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666
Moth, John	Lieutenant	West Friesland				1667	
Moore, John	Captain	Guernsey				1665	
		Hope				1679	
		Sandwich				1679	
		Dutchess				1679	
		Bredah	Commissioners	5	Sept.	1679	
		Harwich	Do.			1679	Dead
Morgan, Mart^n	Lieutenant	Pearle Merchant				1665	
Morgan, Walt^r	Captain	Pearl of Bristoll	Royal Highness			1665	
Morly, Thom^s	Captain	William & Nicholas				1666	
Morrice, Hump^{ry}	Second Lieutenant	Edgar	Royal Highness			1673	
	First do.	Do.	P. Rupert			1673	Dead
Morris, James	Lieutenant	Dragon	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Sweepstakes	Royal Highness			1672	
	Second do.	Swiftsure	Do.			1673	
	Lieutenant	Golden Marygold prize	Sir John Narbrough	12	July	1678	
		Charles galley	V. A. Herbert	30	Jan.	167$\frac{8}{9}$	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Moulton, Rob^{t}	Captain	Happy Returne	Royal Highness			1664	
		Centurion	Do.				
		Vanguard	Do.			1665	
		Anne	Do.			1666	Dead
Mountague, Char.	Captain	Guernsey	Do.			1672	
		Faulcon	Do.			1672	Dead
Mountague, Edw^{d}, Earl of Sandwich (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Royall James					
		Royall Charles				1661	
		London				1664	
		Revenge					
		Prince					
		Royal James				1672	Dead
Mountague, Edw^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Yorke	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Mountague, Geor.	Second Lieutenant	Royal Oake				1678	
		Bristoll	Sir John Narbrough	9	Jan.	167$\frac{8}{9}$	
Moyle, Anthony	Lieutenant	Henry	Royal Highness			1661	
Mulgrave, Earl	Captain	Royall Katherine	Royal Highness			1672	
Munden, John	Second Lieutenant	S^{t} David	King	30	Nov.	1677	
	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick	Commissioners	16	July	1681	
		Mary Rose	King	17	June	1685	
	First do.	Charles galley	Do.	11	July	1686	
	Captain	Half-moon fireship	Do.	23	July	1688	
		Edgar	L^{d} Dartmouth	14	Dec.		
Munden, S^{r} Rich^{d}	Captain	Swallow ketch	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Portsmouth sloop	Royal Highness			1667	
		Princesse	Do.			1672	
		Assistance	Do.			1673	
		S^{t} David	King	14	April	1677	Dead
Murray, L^{d} W^{m}	Lieutenant	Tyger	Do.	23	May	1688	

Myngs, Sr Christopher (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Centurion	Royal Highness			1662	
		Gloucester	Do.			1664	
		Portland	Do.				
		Royall Oake	Do.				
		Tryumph	Do.			1665	
		Fairfax	Do.				
		Victory	Do.			1666	Died of wounds received in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666
Myngs, Christopher	Lieutenant	Pearle				1684	
	1st	Oxford	King	10	May	1687	
	1st	Mary	Do.	24	May	1688	
	1st	Deptford	Do.	1	June		
	Captain	Sophia fireship	Do.	3	Sept.		
Naggs, James	Lieutenant	Augustine	P. Rupert			1672	
Narbrough, Sr Jno (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Do.	Portland	Royal Highness			1664	
		Royall Oake	Do.				
		Tryumph	Do.			1665	
		Royall James	Do.				
		Old James	Do.				
		Fairfax	Royal Highness			1665	
		Victory	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Assurance	P. Rupert, D. Albem.				
		Bonadventure				1667	
		Sweepstakes	Royal Highness			1669	
		Do.	Do.			1671	
	First Lieutenant	Prince	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Do.	Do.				
		Fairfax	Do.				
		St Michael	Do.			1673	
		Henrietta	P. Rupert				
		Harwich				1675	
		Plymouth	King	7	May	1677	
		Foresight	Do.	12	July	1687	Dead
Nayler, Gates	Lieutenant	Stavereen	Do.	2	Feb.	1673	
Neale, Francis	Lieutenant	Bonadventure	Royal Highness			1665	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Neale, Richard	Lieutenant	Blackmore hired	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Do.	Do.			1665	Dead
Nevell, John	Lieutenant	French Ruby	Do.			1673	
		Saphire	King	15	June	1675	
		Do.	Commissioners	8	April	1680	
	2^{d}	Bristoll	Admiral Herbert	22	Dec.		
	Captain	Anne yacht	Do.	21	Feb.	168$\frac{0}{1}$	
		Bristoll	Do.	8	May	1682	
		Rupert				1685	
		Guardland	King	6	Sept.		
		Crowne	Do.	14	August	1686	
		Elizabeth	Do.	25	Sept.	1688	
New, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Plymouth	Royal Highness			1672	
		S^{t} David	Do.				
		Bristoll	King	29	March	1678	Dead
Newell, Charles	Lieutenant	Ruby				1683	
Newland, Rob^{t}.	Lieutenant	Mary	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain	Golden Faulcon				1667	Dead
Newton, Rob^{t}.	Lieutenant	Henrietta	Royal Highness			1666	
Nicholls, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Happy Return	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Nicholson, Jn^{o}.	Captain	Lizard sloop	King	21 17	June Dec.	1673	
Nixon, Edw^{d}	Captain	Phoenix	Royal Highness			1660	
		Mermaid	Do.			1661	
		Elizabeth	Do.			1664	Dead
Noden, Hugh	Captain	Lilly dogger	Do.			1673	
Noden, Thom^{s}	First Lieutenant	Dunkirke	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
	Lieutenant	Diamond	Commissioners	17	Sept.	1679	Dead
Norbrooke, Jn^{o}	Captain	Maderas hired	Royal Highness			1665	Dead
North, John	Lieutenant	Prudent Mary hired	Do.			1665	
		Foresight	Do.				
	Captain	Royall Charles hired	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	

Norwood, Jn^{o}	Captain	Hart dogger	Royal Highness			1673	
Norwood, Matth^{w}	Lieutenant	Yorke	Do.			1664	
Nugent, Domin^{ck}	Lieutenant	Lyon				1665	
		Revenge	Royal Highness			1668	
		Do.				1669	
	Captain	Advice				1671	
		Do.	Royal Highness	13	Jan.	1672	
		Fairfax	P. Rupert			1673	
		Boats at Chatham	King	30	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Thomas & Catherine	Commissioners	29	July	1682	
		John and Alexander	Do.	8	August		
		Charles galley	King	11	June	1685	
		Do.	Do.	30	August		
		Reserve	Do.	27	Sept.		
Nutton, Mich^{ll}	Captain	Norwich	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Obryan, Char.	Lieutenant	Jersey	D. Albemarle			1665	
	Second do.	Royall Charles	Royal Highness				
	Captain	West-Friesland	Do.				
		Advice	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Leopard	Royal Highness			1668	Dead
Odway, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant	Thomas & Francis	P. Rupert			1672	
Oglethorpe, Robert	Lieutenant	Kingfisher	Admiral Herbert	17	August	1682	Dead
Orchard, W^{m}	Captain	Dolphin sloop	Royal Highness			1673	
		Hound do.	King				
		Holmes do.					
Osgood, Henry	Captain	Fox	D. Albemarle			1665	Dead
Ossory, Earl (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Resolution	Royal Highness			1672	
		Victory	Do.				
		S^{t} Michael	Do.			1673	Dead
Padnall, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Tryumph	Royal Highness			1664	
		Dunkirke	Do.			1665	
	1st	Yorke	Do.			1668	
Page, James	Lieutenant	Mary				1665	
		Loyal London	Royal Highness			1666	
		Royall Catherine	Do.			1668	
		Nonsuch	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Portsmouth	P. Rupert			1672	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Page, Thom^s	Captain	Nightingale	Royal Highness			1661	
		Pearle	Do.			1664	
		New Castle	Do.				
		Breda	Do.			1666	
		West Friesland	Do.			1667	
		Faulcon	Do.			1668	
	Lieutenant	Foresight	Royal Highness			1668	
	Captain	Pearle				1669	
		Wivenhoe pink and the boats at Sheernesse	Royal Highness			1672	
		Francis	Do.			1673	Dead
Paine, Joseph	Captain	Bryer fireship				1665	
		Bull				1666	
		Blackmore				1667	Dead
Painter, Ric^d	Captain	Hester fireship	King			1673	Dead
Palmer, Ric^d	Second Lieutenant	Henrietta	L^d Dartmouth	24	Feb.	$168\frac{8}{4}$	
		Do.	King	20	June	1685	
Parker, Abel	Lieutenant	Essex				1664	
Parker, Jn^o	Captain	Nonsuch	Royal Highness			1661	
		Amity	Do.			1664	
		Yarmouth	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 25 July, 1666
Parker, Nich^{as}	Captain	Greyhound	Royal Highness			1661	
		Coventry	Do.			1663	
		Nonsuch					
		Tyger	Royal Highness			1668	Dead
Parkes, Rob^t	Lieutenant	Soveraigne	Do.			1666	Dead
Parsons, Dan^l	Captain	Bonadventure sloop	V. A. Herbert	14	June	1679	
Patridge, Ric^d	Captain	Turky Merchant	Royal Highness			1666	
		Do.	P. Rupert			1672	Dead

Pattison, Hen.	Captain	Daniel fireship				1666	
		Bantam do.	Royal Highness			1672	
		Prudent Mary do.	Do.			1672	Dead
Peach, Will^{m}	Captain	True Love	Do.			1665	
		Success	Do.			1667	
Peach, Henry	Lieutenant	Assurance				1665	
Peach	Lieutenant	Anne	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Pearce, John	Captain	Convertine	Royal Highness			1664	
		HambroughMercht.	Do.			1667	
		Portland	Do.				
		Saphire	Do.			1669	Executed by order of a court-martial, September 1670
Pearce, John	Lieutenant	Henry	Do.			1665	
		Prince	Do.			1666	
	Captain	Elias	Do.				
	Lieutenant 1st	Tryumph	Do.			1668	
	,,	Dragon	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Newcastle	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Pearce, Marle	Captain	Deptford ketch	Royal Highness			1665	Dead
Pearce, Edward	Captain	Portsmouth sloop	Do.			1671	
		Roebuck	Do.			1672	
		Nightingale	P. Rupert			1673	Drowned with the Nightingale
Pearse, Jeffery	Lieutenant	Dover	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Do.	Do.				
		Do.	Do.			1667	
		Eaglett ketch	Do.			1669	
		S^{t} George	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Pearse, John	Lieutenant	Royall Oake				1665	
		Royall Prince				1666	Dead
Pearse, Thomas	Captain	William and Suzan				1667	Dead
Pearse, Vincent	Lieutenan	Adventure	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Bryer fireship	Do.			1665	Slain in the attempt upon the Dutch ships at Bergen, August 1665

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Peckett, Nathan^l	Lieutenant	Sweepstakes				1669	
Peirson, Thom^s	Lieutenant	Henry	Royal Highness			1665	
	1st	Prince	Do.			1666	
Pembridge, Ric^d	Second Lieutenant	Anne	Do.			1672	Dead
Penn, S^r Will^m	Captain	Royall Charles	Do.			1664	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)		Royall James				1664	Dead
Penn, Will^m	Lieutenant	Massenbird hired	King	30	April	1678	
Penn, Will^m	Lieutenant 1st	Bristoll	Do.	30	August	1688	
Penrose, Mathias	Lieutenant	Monck	Royal Highness			1666	
Penrose, Thomas	Captain	Do.	Do.			1665 1667	Dead
Perdu, John	Lieutenant	Triumph	Do.			1665	
		Victory	Do.			1666	
		Revenge	Do.			1667	
	Captain	Lewis hired	Do.			1667	Dead
Perkins, George	Third Lieutenant	Soveraigne	Do.			1665	
Perry, Joseph	Second Lieutenant	Royall Charles	Pr. Rupert			1673	
	First do.	Soveraigne	Do.			1673	
	Second Captain	Royall Charles	Do.			1673	Dead
Perry, Walter	Captain	Emsworth sloop	Royal Highness			1667	Lost in the Royall James, 28 May, 1672
Perryman, Jn^o	Captain	Swallow hired				1665	
		Ostridge fireship				1667	
		Grafton				1679	
		Essex					
		Kent					
		Burford					
		Exeter				1680	
		Suffolk				1680	Dead
Perryman, Jos^{ph}	Captain	Chatham sloop	Royal Highness			1673	

		William dogger	King	12	Dec.	1673	Dead
Persall, Andrew	Second Lieutenant	Rainbow	Royal Highness			1672	
Pestell, Will^{m}.	Captain	Pearle	Do.			1661	Dead
Peterson, Matth^{w}	Captain	James yacht				1662	
Pett, Phinees	Captain	True Love and Bramble	Royal Highness			1661	
		Henrietta yacht	Do.			1663	
		Do.				1664	
		Katherine yacht				1665	
		Tyger	Royal Highness			1665	Slain in fight with Dutch men-of-war in the Soundings, 1665
Phenney, John	Captain	Swallow ketch	Do.			1665	
		Speedwell	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Phillips, Bern^{d}	Lieutenant	Mary Rose	Royal Highness			1664	
Phillips, Morg^{n}	Captain	Fox shallop	Do.			1673	
Pibus, John	Captain	Spye shallop	Do.			1666	
		Fanfan	Do.			1672	Dead
Pickard, Peter	Captain	Sampson fireship	Commissioners	3	April	1680	
		Callabash do.	Admiral Herbert	20	Dec.		
Pickering, Gilb^{t}	First Lieutenant	Cambridge	King	16	April	1678	
Pike, John	Captain	John of Dover, employed for hindering transportation of wool	Do.	19	Sept.	1673	
Piles, Thomas	Lieutenant	Hambrough Mercht.	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	William & Thomas hired	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Pinn, Edward	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick				1666	
	2^{d}	Mary				1668	
	Captain	Dartmouth	Royal Highness			1672	
		Cleveland yacht	King			1676	
		Hampshire	Do.	5	Nov.	1677	Dead
Pointz, John	Captain	Richmond	Royal Highness			1660	
		Maryland Merchant	Do.			1664	
Polland, John	Lieutenant	S^{t} Paul	D. Albemarle			1665	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Pollea, John	Lieutenant	Bull	D. Albemarle			1665	
	Captain	Little Francis fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Benjamin do.	Do.			1673	
		Anne and Christopher	King	4	Feb.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Pomeroy, George	First Lieutenant	Greenwich	L^{d} Dartmouth	1	Dec.	1688	
Pomeroy, Will^{m}	Captain	Dolphin	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Poole, Benjam^{n}	Second Lieutenant	Leopard	King	27	March	1677	
		Happy Return	Do.	11	Sept.	1678	
		Rupert	Sir John Narbrough	2	May	1679	
		Bristoll	V. A. Herbert	6	April	1680	
	Captain	Sampson fireship		20	Dec.		
Poole, Jonas	Captain	Leopard	Royal Highness			1660	
		Anne	Do.			1661	
		New Castle				1662	
		Dover	Royal Highness			1664	
		London	Do.				
		Vanguard	Do.			1665	Dead
Poole, Nicholas	Lieutenant	Andaluzia hired	King	30	April	1678	
Poole, Rich^{d}	Captain	Drake	Royal Highness			1665	
Poole, S^{r} Will^{m}	Captain	Martin	Do.			1660	
		Charity	Do.			1661	
		Advice	Do.			1663	
		Do.	Do.			1665	
		S^{t} George					
		Mary	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Crowne	Royal Highness			1667	
		Jersey	Do.			1669	
		Plymouth	Do.			1672	
		S^{t} David	Do.				
		Leopard	King	27	Feb.	1676	

		Happy Return	King	11	Sept.	1678	
		Samuel and Mary	Do.	21	June	1685	Dead
Pooley, Will^{m}	Captain	Alice and Francis fireship	Royal Highness	.	.	1672	
		Hester do.	Do.	.	.	1673	
		Amity do.	King	.	.		
	Lieutenant	S^{t} David	Do.	9	April	1677	
	Captain	Roebuck fireship	Do.	5	Sept.	1688	
Porten, Robert	Third Lieutenant	S^{t} Michael	Royal Highness	.	.	1672	
	Captain	Vultur sloop	King	.	.	1673	
Porter, Stephen	Lieutenant	Mountague	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	.	1666	
		Princesse	.	.	.	1668	Dead
Potter, Abrah^{m}	Second Lieutenant	Dreadnought	King	26	Jan.	167⅞	
	Captain	Charles fireship	Do.	3	Sept.	1688	
Potts, Thomas	Lieutenant	Golden Phoenix	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	.	1666	
Poulson, Edw^{d}	Captain	Speedwell fireship	King	5	Sept.	1688	
Powell, Edw^{d}	Captain	Loyal Catherine	.	.	.	1666	
Powell, Walt^{r}	Captain	Cutter sloop	Pr. Rupert	.	.	1673	Dead
Power, Peirce	Third Lieutenant	Victory	Royal Highness	.	.	1673	Dead
Prashwaite, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant	Rainbow	.	.	.	167½	Dead
Pratt, Matth^{w}	Captain	Peterman dogger	King	17	Dec.	1673	
Preene, Jacob	Second Lieutenant	Resolution	L^{d} Dartmouth	26	Nov.	1688	
Prestick, Edw^{d}	Captain	Blessing vict[ualle]r	.	.	.	1672	
Pretty, Saxey	Lieutenant	Golden Phoenix	Royal Highness	.	.	1666	
		Kent	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	.		
		Portsmouth	Do.	.	.	1669	Dead
Price, Edward	Lieutenant	Augustine hired	Royal Highness	.	.	1673	
Price, Herbert	Second Lieutenant	Henrietta	Do.	.	.	1673	Dead
Prideaux, Jn^{o}	Captain	Catt fireship	Do.	.	.	1667	
Priestman, Henry	Second Lieutenant	Plymouth	Do.	.	.	1672	
	Captain	Richmond	King	23	August	1673	
		Larke	Do.	11	June	1675	
		Swann	Do.	7	Jan.	167⅞	
		Anthelope	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Reserve	Commissioners	19	July	1681	
		Bonadventure	Do.	22	May	1683	
		Hampton-Court	King	8	Nov.	1688	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Prince, Lawrence	Lieutenant	Assistance				1671	
Prince, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	S^{t} Andrew	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Dover	Royal Highness			1667	
Pritchard, W^{m}		Hope of New Castle					
Pugh, Richard	Lieutenant	Anthelope	King	9	Sept.	1688	
Pulham, Jn^{o}	Captain	Ann Speedwell				1667	
Pyend, Stephen	Lieutenant	S^{t} George	Royal Highness			1664	
		Guernsey				1665	
	Captain	Amity	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Ruby	Royal Highness			1672	
		Soveraigne				1672	Dead
Pyend, Valent^{n}	Captain	Guardland	Royal Highness			1662	
		Expedition	Do.			1663	
		Dragon	Do.			1664	
		S^{t} Andrew	Do.			1665	Dead
Pym, Robert	Lieutenant	S^{t} Andrew				1665	
Quick, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Amity	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Rainton, Jn^{o}	Captain	S^{t} Peter				1665	
Ramsden, Freschvile	Lieutenant	Crowne	King	11	Feb.	1673	
Rand, Nordash	Third Lieutenant	Soveraigne	Royal Highness			1672	
Rand, Thom^{s}	Captain	Slothony	Do.			1666	Dead
Randall, Edw^{d}.	Captain	Anne sattee	Admiral Herbert	23	June	1681	
	Lieutenant	James galley	Do.	20	May	1682	
	Captain	Half-moon Algier prize	Do.	19	July	1682	Dead
Ratford, Ric^{d}	Captain	Spye sloop				1666	
Rayer, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Guinney	P. Rupert			1672	
		Mermaid	King	30	April	1678	
Read, Francis	Lieutenant	Yorke	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		French Ruby	Royal Highness			1668	

	1st Captain	St George	Royal Highness			1672	
		Morning Starr	P. Rupert				
		Turky Mercht. hired	King	12	April	1678	Dead
Reade, James	Lieutenant	Royall Charles				1665	
Readgrove, Tho.	Captain	Friendship				1667	
Reeves, Sr Willm	Lieutenant	Henrietta	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Mary Rose	Do.				
		Essex	Do.			1665	
		Monck	Do.			1668	
		Henrietta	Do.			1673	
		Edgar	Do.			1673	
		Soveraign	P. Rupert			1673	Died of wounds received in the battle with the Dutch, 11 August, 1673
Rewcastle, Richd	Lieutenant	Henry				1664	
Reynolds, Jacob	Captain	Great Gift	Royal Highness			1664	
		Hope prize	Do.			1666	Dead
Reynolds, Robt	Second Lieutenant	Plymouth	King	23	April	1677	
	First do.	Do.	Sir John Narbrough	12	August	1678	
Rice, John	Captain	Success fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Marygold do.	Do.			1673	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, August 1673
Ricketts, Wm	Captain	Fortune flyboat				1672	
Ridley, Hugh	Captain	Starr fireship				1667	
		Tilbury-hope					
		Providence fireship	Royal Highness			1668	
		Woolwich sloop	P. Rupert			1673	
		Wivenhoe fireship	King	3	June	1675	
		Boats at Portsmouth	Commissioners	28	Feb.	168½	
		America guardship	Do.	29	July	1682	
		America	King	25	May	1685	
		Swann	Do.	9	June		
		Guardland	Do.	15	August	1686	
		Anthelope	Do.	9	Sept.	1688	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Rigby, Will^{m}	Lieutenant . 2^{d}	Moncke	Royal Highness			1672	
	2^{d}	Norwich	King	26	April	1675	
	,,	Henrietta					
	,,	Constant Warwick	King	16	April	1677	
	,,	Woolwich	Commissioners	10	April	1682	
	1st	Mountague	Do.	1	May	1683	
	1st	Mordaunt	King	28	May	1684	Dead
Riley, Charles	Lieutenant	Mary				1665	Dead
	Captain	Hope prize	D. Albemarle				
Ripley, Langdale	Lieutenant	Maryland Merchant	Do.			1665	
		Plymouth					
		Monck	Royal Highness			1668	
Roach, Jeremy	Lieutenant	Anthelope				1665	
Roach, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Golden Lyon				1664	
		Tyger	Royal Highness			1665	
		Henry	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Roape, Anth^{ny}	Second Lieutenant	Rainbow	King	30	April	1678	
Roberts, George	Captain	Wood Merchant				1665	
		Unity prize				1672	
Roberts, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant	Maers prize	Royal Highness			1665	
Robinson, Christopher	Lieutenant	East India Mercht.				1667	
Robinson, Edw^{d}	Captain	Elizabeth ketch	Royal Highness			1672	
Robinson, John	Captain	Hopeful Margaret ketch hired	Do.			1667	
		Hopeful Margaret dogger	Do.			1672	
Robinson, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Assurance				1676	
Robinson, S^{r} Robert	Captain	Ruby	Royal Highness			1661	
		Elizabeth	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Warspight	Royal Highness			1666	
		Ruby	Do.			1668	
		Greenwich	Do.			1670	

			Warspight	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
			Monmouth	Do.	.	. .	1673	
			Diamond	King	9	Feb.		
			Royall Oake	Do.	.	. .	1674	
			Assurance	Do.	17	April	1676	
			Harwich	Do.	7	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
			Foresight	Commissioners	3	Jan.	1679	
			Assistance	Do.	15	May	1680	
Robinson, Rob^{t}.	Lieutenant	1st	Lyon	King	12	April	1678	
		,,	Richmond r	Commissioners	26	Sept.	1679	
		2d	Grafton	L^{d} Dartmouth	17	Dec.	1683	
	Captain		Kingfisher ketch	King	14	July	1685	
			Crowne	Do.	26	Sept.	1688	
Robson, Christopher	Lieutenant		Portsmouth	Royal Highness	.	. .	1668	
Rogers, John	Captain		Unicorne	Do.	.	. .	1673	
		2d	Royall Charles	King	28	March	1678	
		,,	Henry guardship at Chatham	Do.	30	Nov.	1678	Dead
Rogers, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant		Turky Merchant hired	Do.	30	April	1678	
Rooke, George	Second Lieutenant		London	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
			Prince	Do.	.	. .	1673	
	Captain		Holmes	King	13	Nov.		
			Nonsuch	Do.	12	April	1677	
			Hampshire	V. A. Herbert	10	July	1680	
			S^{t} David	Commissioners	14	April	1683	
			Deptford	. . . .	.	. .	1688	
Rooke, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant		Adventure	Admiral Herbert	11	Feb.	168$\frac{0}{1}$	
Room Coyle, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant		Bendish	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
	Captain		Do.	Do.	.	. .	1665	
			Guinea	. . . .	.	. .		
			Dragon	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
			Mountague	. . . .	.	. .		
			French Ruby	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
			Phoenix	King	17	Dec.	1677	
			Royall Oake	V. A. Herbert	12	April	1679	
			Spanish Merchant	Commissioners	29	July	1682	
			Crowne	King	11	June	1685	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Rooth, Rich^{d}	Captain	Dartmouth	Royal Highness			1660	
		Harpe				1663	
		Dartmouth	Royal Highness			1664	
		S^{t} David	Do.			1667	
		Guardland	Do.			1668	
	First Lieutenant	Victory	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Lyon	Do.			1673	
		Swiftsure	Do.				
		Adventure	King	9	March	1674	
		Monmouth	Do.	12	April	1678	Dead
Rose, James	Lieutenant	Henrietta	Royal Highness			1665	
Rosenholme, Pet^{r}	Lieutenant	Prince	Do.			1672	
Rowe, Simon	Lieutenant	S^{t} David	Commissioners	17	April	1683	
	Captain	Dunbarton	King	14	July	1686	
Rowlandson, Francis	Captain	Lenox				1671	
Royden, Charles	Lieutenant	Moncke	Royal Highness			1664	
	1st	Mountague	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Dunkirke	P. Rupert				
	First Lieutenant	Victory	Royal Highness			1673	
	Captain	Stavereene	P. Rupert				
		Dunkirke	King	27	Dec.		
		Guernsey	Do.	12	Sept.	1674	
		Sweepstakes	Do.	5	April	1677	Turned out by a court-martial
Rumsey, Henry	Second Lieutenant	Cambridge	King	3	April	1678	
Rupert, Prince	Captain	Henrietta				1664	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)		Royall James					
		Royal Charles				1673	
		Soveraign					
Russell, Edward	Lieutenant	Advice				1671	
		Revenge					

		3d	Prince . . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1672	
		,,	Rupert . .	. . . .	.	. .		
	Captain .	.	Phoenix . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .		
			Swallow . .	Pr. Rupert . .	.	. .	1673	
			Reserve . .	King . . .	15	Feb.	1675	
			Defiance . .	Do. . . .	15	Dec.	1677	
			Swiftsure . .	Do. . . .	20	March	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
			New Castle . .	Commissioners .	10	August	1680	
Russell, John . .	Lieutenant .	.	Dartmouth . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1673	
		2d	Rupert . .	King . . .	20	Nov.	1677	
Sackler, Tobias .	Captain .	.	Blackmore pink .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1660	
			Drake . . .	Do. .	.	. .	1663	
			Expedition . .	Do. .	.	. .	1665	Dead
Sackvill, Ralph .	Lieutenant .	.	Slothany . .	. . . .	.	. .	1666	
Sadd, Simon . .	Lieutenant .	.	Royall James .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1660	
			Crowne . .	Do. .	.	. .	1661	
			Saphire . .	. . . .	.	. .	1662	
			John and Katherine	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1664	
			Zealand . .	Do. .	.	. .	1665	
	Captain .	.	John and Catherine	Do. .	.	. .	1665	Dead
Sadlington, Ricd .	Lieutenant .	.	Reserve . .	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
		1st	Victory . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1668	
	Captain .	.	Mermaid . .	Do. .	.	. .	1672	
			Dartmouth . .	Do. .	.	. .		
			English Ruby .	. . . .	.	. .		
			Crowne . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1673	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 4 June, 1673
St Loe, George .	Lieutenant .	.	Phoenix . .	King . . .	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
			Hampshire . .	Admiral Herbert .	9	August	1680	
	Captain .	.	Dartmouth . .	Commissioners .	11	August	1682	
			Do. . .	King . . .	24	March	168$\frac{4}{5}$	
			Portsmouth . .	Do. . . .	30	August	1688	
St Barb . . .	Lieutenant .	.	Dragon . .	. . . .	.	. .	1672	
Salkeld, Ralph .	Lieutenant .	.	Slothany . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1666	
			Crowne . .	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .		
			Princesse . .	Royal Highness .	.	. .	1670	
		1st	Unicorne . .	Do. .	.	. .	1672	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Salmon, Rob^{t}	Captain	Fairfax	Royal Highness			1664	
		Quaker ketch				1678	Dead
Sanders, Francis	Captain	Constant Catherine	Royal Highness			1665	
		Sweepstakes	D. Albemarle			1665	Dead
Sanders, Gabriel	Captain	Tyger	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Sanders, Joseph	Captain	John and Abigail	Do.			1665	
		Guinney	Do.				
		Bredah	Do.			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 1 June, 1666
Sanders, Rob^{t}	Captain	Loyall Merchant	Do.			1665	
		Coronation	Do.			1666	
		S^{t} Patricke	Do.			1666	Slain at the taking the St. Patrick by the Dutch
Sandford, Jacob	Captain	Batchellor fireship				1667	
Sands, Edwin	First Lieutenant	Old James	Royal Highness			1672	
	Lieutenant	Yorke	Do.			1673	
Sandwell, W^{m}	Lieutenant	Little Sampson				1664	
Sandwich, Earl (*vide* Mountagu)							
Sansome, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant	James galley	Admiral Herbert	1	August	1682	
Sansum, Rob^{t} (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Mary Rose	Royal Highness			1664	
		Dunkirke	Do.				
		Resolution	Do.			1665	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 3 June, 1665
Sartaine, Steph^{n}	Captain	Giles ketch	Do.			1664	
		Eaglett do.	Do.			1665	
		Little Francis fire-ship	Do.			1669	Dead

Saunders, Thos	First Lieutenant	Rupert	Royal Highness			1671	
		Revenge				1672	
Saunderson, Ralph	Lieutenant	Assistance	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain	St David	Royal Highness			1669	
		East India Mercht.				1670	
		Phoenix	Royal Highness			1671	
	2d	Soveraigne	P. Rupert			1673	
	Captain	Portsmouth yacht	King	30	July	1674	
		Charles yacht				1676	
		Charlotte yacht	King	5	Sept.	1677	
		Do.	Commissioners	22	Oct.	1681	
		Fubbs yacht	Do.	31	August	1682	
		Do.	King	27	March	1685	
Saunderson, Wm	Captain	Isabella yacht	Do.	16	Nov.	1688	
Scanderbeg, Geo.	Lieutenant	Assistance				1666	Dead
Scott, Theophils	Captain	Golden Sun				1666	Dead
		Thomas and George				1672	Dead
Scott, Thoms	Lieutenant	Resolution	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	French Victory	Do.			1666	Dead
Scroope, Adrn	Lieutenant	Forrester	Do.			1672	
	2d	Soveraigne	Do.			1673	
	2d	Mountague	King	16	April	1677	
	1st	Dreadnought	Do.	28	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Diamond	Commissioners	27	April	1680	
		Tyger prize	Do.	10	Jan.	168$\frac{1}{2}$	
	Captain	Red Lion Algier prize	Admiral Herbert	15	July	1682	
Seale, Thoms	Lieutenant	Resolution	Royal Highness			1663	
	Captain	Milford	Do.			1664	
		Breda	Do.			1665	Slain in the attempt upon the Dutch at Bergen, August 1665
Seale, Willm	Captain	Spred Eagle fire-ship				1665	
		Samuel do.					
		Maligo Merchant				1666	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Seaman, Edm^d	Captain	Centurion	Royal Highness			1665	
		Old James	Do.			1666	Dead
Selby, Ralph	Lieutenant	Assurance	P. Rupert			1672	
Severne, Rog^r	Lieutenant	William & Thomas	Do.			1672	Dead
Seymer, W^m	Lieutenant	Happy Return	L^d Dartmouth	24	Feb.	168$\frac{3}{4}$	
	2^d	Rupert	King	20	June	1685	
Seymour, Hugh	Lieutenant	Anthelope	Royal Highness			1663	
		Bristoll	Do.				
		Hector	Royal Highness			1664	
		Pearle	Do.				
		Foresight	Do.			1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 25 July, 1666
Shafto	Lieutenant	John and Thomas	Do.			1666	Dead
Sharland, Jam^s	Captain	Fox				1660	
		Harpe	Royal Highness			1664	
		Mary yacht	Do.			1665	Dead
Sharpe, Barthol.	Captain	Bonetta sloop	Commissioners	30	Nov.	1682	
Shaw, John	Second Lieutenant	Rupert	P. Rupert			1673	Dead
Shaw, Will^m	Lieutenant	Greenwich	Do.			1673	Dead
Shebald, George Charles	Lieutenant	Unicorne				1665	Dead
Sheldon, Edw^d	Captain	Thomas and Elizabeth				1667	
Shelley, Giles	Captain	Royall Exchange hired	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Shelley, John	Lieutenant	Assistance	Do.			1664	
	Captain	Albemarle fireship				1667	
		Truelove do.	Royal Highness			1668	
		Welcome do.	Do.			1669	
		Milford do.	Do.			1670	

	First Lieutenant	London	Royal Highness			1672	
	Second Captain	Monmouth	Do.				
	Captain	Portland	Do.				
		Diamond	Do.			1673	
		Europa hired	King	12	April	1678	
		Cygnet fireship	Do.	12	Sept.	1688	
Sheppard, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	New Castle	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	3^{d}	Charles	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Sheppard, Rob^{t}	Captain	Anne yacht	Do.			1664	
		Faulcon	Do.			1666	
		Ann yacht	Do.			1668	Dead
Sherborne, Ric^{d}	Second Lieutenant	Dragon	Captain Killigrew			1687	
		Do.	D. Grafton				
Sherive, Jam^{s}	Captain	Fortune prize	P. Rupert			1672	
		Love of Ipswich				1673	Dead
Sherwin, W^{m}	Captain	Lilly dogger				1673	
Short, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant	Europa hired	King	30	April	1678	Dead
Short, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Mary	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Shorten, Rob^{t}	Captain	Jamaica Adventure				1672	Dead
Shovell, Cloudisley	Lieutenant 2^{d}	Henrietta	King	25	Sept.	1673	
		Harwich				1675	
	1st	Plymouth	King	16	April	1677	
	Captain	Saphire	Sir John Narbrough	11	Sept.		
		Phoenix	V. A. Herbert	12	April	1679	
		Saphire	Sir John Narbrough	3	May		
		Do.	Commissioners	8	April	1680	
		Nonsuch	V. A. Herbert	14	July		
		Saphire	Admiral Herbert	11	Sept.		
		James galley	Do.	22	April	1681	
		Ann	King	22	April	1687	
		Dover	Do.	4	April	1688	
Sidnam, John	First Lieutenant	Mountague	Do.	19	Feb.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Charles	Do.	28	March	1678	
		Captaine	Do.	15	Sept.		
		Do.	Commissioners	27	August	1679	
Sieubladg, Errick	Lieutenant	Dunkirke	Royal Highness			1666	
	Captain	Mermaid	Do.			1672	
		Bristoll	Do.				

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Sieubladh, Geor.	Lieutenant	Unicorne	Royal Highness			1666	
Silver, John	Lieutenant	Mary	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Black Eagle	D. Albemarle				
		Kent	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	Dead
Simpson, Edw^d^	Lieutenant	Mountague	Royal Highness			1664	
		Old James	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	1^st^	S^t^ Andrew	Royal Highness			1673	
Skelton, Charles	Second Lieutenant	Gloucester	Do.			1672	
		Rupert	Do.				
	Captain	Speedwell	Do.	5	Feb.	167$\frac{2}{3}$	
		Stavereene	King	12	April	1678	
		Young Spragg	Commissioners	11	Sept.	1680	
		Do.	King	15	May	1685	
		Constant Warwick	Do.	10	July	1686	
		Lyon	L^d^ Dartmouth	26	Nov.	1688	
Skelton, Jn^o^	Captain	Sorlings				1665	
Skinner, August^s^	Lieutenant	Adventure				1665	Dead
Skinner, Will^m^	Lieutenant	East India Mercht.				1667	Dead
Skues, Thom^s^	Lieutenant	Samuel and Mary				1685	
Smart, Alexand^r^	Captain	Woolwich sloop	King			1673	
Smith, Anthony	Captain	Cygnet	Royal Highness			1666	
		Navy yacht	Do.			1673	
		Do.				1680	
		Woolwich				1681	
		Duke	Commissioners	21	June	1682	
		Rupert				1684	
Smith, James	Captain	New Castle	Royal Highness			1661	
		Anne				1662	
		Essex	Royal Highness			1663	Dead
Smith, S^r^ Jeremy (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Mary	Do.			1664	
		Do.				1665	
		Soveraigne					

			Loyal London	Royal Highness			1666	
			Royall Katherine	Do.			1668	Dead
Smith, Richard	Lieutenant		Coast frigate	Do.			1664	
	Captain		Zealand	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			1666	
			London	Royal Highness				
			Coronation	Do.				
Smith, Robert	Captain		Deale yacht				$167\frac{8}{9}$	
Smith, Thom^{s}	Captain		Welcome	Royal Highness			1661	
			Maderas	Do.			1665	
Smith, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	2^{d}	Swiftsure	King	5	April	1678	
		,,	Faulcon	Commissioners	18	April	1682	
		,,	Do.	King			1685	
	Captain		Do.	Do.	11	July	1688	
			Tyger prize	Do.	8	Nov.		
Smith, Will^{m}	Lieutenant		Lyon				1667	
			Defyance	Royal Highness			1668	
	Captain		William dogger	Do.			1673	Dead
Southwick, Cyprian	Lieutenant		Morning Star				1673	
			Turk frigate hired.	King	30	April	1678	
Southwood, Henry	Captain		Goodhope				1666	Dead
Sparkes, George	Lieutenant		Dover	King	30	April	1678	
			Reserve	Commissioners	17	May	1679	Dead
Sparling, Thom^{s}	Captain		Assistance	Royal Highness			1660	Dead
Sparrow, Fran^{s}	Captain		Swallow ketch	Do.			1661	Dead
Sparrow, John	Lieutenant		Guinea				1665	Dead
Spender, Rich^{d}	Lieutenant		Assurance	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			1666	
		2^{d}	S^{t} Michael	Royal Highness			1672	Dead
Spilsby, George	Captain		Eaglett ketch	P. Rupert			1672	
Spragg, S^{r} Edw^{d}	Captain		Portland	Royal Highness			1661	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)			Dover	Do.			1664	
			Lyon	Do.				
			Royall James				1665	
			Tryumph	Royal Highness				
			Dreadnought				1666	
			Victory	P.Rupert,D.Albem.				
			Revenge	Royal Highness			1667	
			Do.	Do.			1669	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
		Rupert	Royal Highness			1671	
		London	Do.			1672	
		Prince	Do.			1673	Drowned in the battle with the Dutch, 11 August, 1673
Spragg, John	Second Lieutenant	Jersey	King	20	Nov.	1677	
Spragg, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Centurion	Do.	22	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		Dartmouth	Commissioners	18	April	1682	
	Captain	Swann prize	L^{d} Dartmouth	17	Sept.	1683	
		Drake	King	3	April	1685	
Stacy, Gabriel	Captain	Wood Merchant				1667	Dead
Staggins, Charl^{s}	Lieutenant	Tyger prize	Admiral Herbert	1	Aug.	1682	
	1st	Jersey	King	24	May	1688	
	1st	Rupert	Do.	3	Sept.		
Stainsby, Jn^{o}	Captain	Eagle	Royal Highness			1664	
		Happy Return	Do.			1672	
Standish, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant	Lyon				1667	
Stanley, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant	Kingfisher				1681	
		Adventure	Admiral Herbert	10	Aug.		
	Captain	Bonetta sloop	Commissioners	2	March	168$\frac{2}{3}$	
	First Lieutenant	Foresight	King	6	March	168$\frac{6}{7}$	
	Captain	Do.	Do.	8	Aug.	1688	
Stayner, S^{r} Ric^{d}	Captain	Swiftsure	Royal Highness			1660	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)		Mary	Do.			1661	Dead
Steele, John	Captain	John sloop				1670	
Stephens, Jn^{o}	Captain	Chessnut pink	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Stephens, Dan^{l}	Captain	Robert fireship				1666	
		Paul do.	Royal Highness			1666	
		Young Lion do.	Do.			1668	
		Lion do.				1671	Dead

Stepney, Rowl^{d}	Lieutenant	Rainbow				1665	
		Monck	Royal Highness			1668	
		Bristoll	Do.			1669	
		Dover	Do.			1671	
	Captain	Drake	Do.			1672	
		Lilly sloop	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Sterling, Sam^{l}	Second Lieutenant	Henrietta	King	10	May	1678	Dead
Steward, Fran^{s}	Captain	Happy Entrance	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Sancta Maria	Do.				
		Golden Phoenix	Royal Highness			1666	
Steward, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	London				1664	
		Prince	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Beare	Do.				
Stoakes, Jn^{o}	Captain	Royall James	Do.			1660	
		Assurance	Do.			1661	
		Amity	Do.				
		Tryumph	Do.			1664	Dead
Stollard, Thom^{s}	Captain	Milk-maid				1666	
Stone, Will^{m}	Captain	Fanfan	King	16	July	1677	
		Charles and Henry fireship	Do.	5	Sept.	1688	
Storey, Jam^{s}	Lieutenant	Dreadnought	Royal Highness			1665	
	Captain	Do.	Do.			1667	
		Rainbow	Do.			1672	
		Old James	Do.			1673	
		Portsmouth	King	23	April	1675	
		Yorke	Do.	6	Dec.	1678	
		Diamond	Commissioners	27	March	1680	
		Anthelope	Do.	15	May	1680	Dead
Stout, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant	Resolution				1665	
		Revenge					
		Henry	Royal Highness			1666	
		Lyon	Do.				
	Captain	Roe ketch	Do.			1668	
	Second Lieutenant	S^{t} David	Do.			1669	
	Captain	Fountaine fireship				1671	
		Forrester	Royal Highness			1672	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
		Princesse	Royal Highness			1673	
		Warspight	King	21	Jan.		
		Do.	P. Rupert				
		Success	King	15	June	1674	Dead
Stranguage, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant	Dreadnought				1666	
Streate, Rich^{d}	Captain	Hart pink				1660	Dead
Straughan, Geo.	Captain	Fortune galliot				1666	
Strickland, S^{r} Roger	Lieutenant	Saphire	Royal Highness			1661	
(*Vide* Flag Officers)		Crowne				1662	
		Providence	Royal Highness			1663	
		Hambrough Mercht.				1665	
		Rainbow	Royal Highness				
	Captain	Sancta Maria	Do.			1666	
		Successe	Do.			1668	
		Kent	Do.			1669	
		Anthelope				1671	
		Plymouth	Royal Highness			1672	
		Henry	Do.				
		Dragon	King			1674	
		Centurion	Do.	5	Nov.	1677	
		Mary	Do.	10	Dec.		
		Bristoll	Sir John Narbrough	14	Jan.	167$\frac{8}{9}$	
		Do.	King	23	March	168$\frac{4}{5}$	
		Mary	Do.	14	June	1688	
Strodder, Geor.	Captain	Cleveland yacht	Commissioners	31	Oct.	1682	
Stuart, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Reserve	Royal Highness			1672	
	2^{d}	Woolwich	King	22	April	1677	Drowned
Sumers, Jn^{o}	Captain	Castle fireship				1673	
	Second Lieutenant	Royall Catherine	King	30	April	1678	
Sumpter, Rob^{t}	Captain	Bonadventure fireship				1667	

	Second Lieutenant	Sᵗ David	Royal Highness			1672	
	Lieutenant	Anthelope	King	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
Supple, Charles	Lieutenant	Fairfax	Royal Highness			1666	
Sutton, Willᵐ	Lieutenant	Rose	King	30	April	1678	
Swanley, John	Captain	Yorke	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Swanley, Ricᵈ	Captain	Eaglett ketch				1660	
	Lieutenant	Anne	Royal Highness			1666	
		Tryumph	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			1666	Dead
Swanly, Geor.	Captain	Princesse				1664	Dead
Swayne, Edwᵈ	Lieutenant	Defyance	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			1666	
Swayne, Jnº	Captain	Mary fireship	Royal Highness			1667	Dead
Swayne, Thomˢ	Lieutenant	Anthelope	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Kingfisher ketch	King	10	Oct.	1688	
Symonds, Benjⁿ	Lieutenant	Kent	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			} 1666	
	Captain	Expedition	Do.				
		Swallow ketch	Royal Highness			1668	
Symonds, Josᵖʰ	Captain	Roe dogger	Do.			1663	
		Invention sloop				1673	
Talbott, Charles	Lieutenant	Royall Charles	Royal Highness			1661	
		Royall James				} 1662	
		Reserve	Royal Highness				
		Jersey	Do.			1663	
		Golden Lyon				} 1664	
	Captain	Guardland	Royal Highness				
		Elizabeth	Do.			1666	
		Mary Rose	King	12	April	1678	
		Faulcon	Do.	28	March	1685	Dead
Talbott, Sherington	Lieutenant	Nonsuch	Do.	17	Sept.	1688	
Talmach (*vide* Tolmach)							
Tancock, John	Lieutenant	Foresight	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			1666	
		Barnardiston hired	King	30	April	1678	
Tanner, John	Captain	Catt fireship	P.Rupert,D.Albem.			1666	Dead
Tarpley, John (*Vide* Torpley)	Captain	Adventure	Do.			1666	
		Successe	King			1678	Dead
Tapson, Richᵈ	Second Lieutenant	Adventure	Royal Highness			1672	
	Captain	Mermaide	King	9	August	1673	
		Adventure	Do.	12	April	1678	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Tapson, Richd.	Lieutenant	Adventure	King	15	Sept.	1678	Dead
Tarpley (*vide* ante-penult.)							
Tatersell, Nichs	Captain	Sorlings	Royal Highness			1660	
		Moncke	Do.			1661	Dead
Tatnell, Valentne	Captain	Adventure	Do.			1660	Dead
Taylor, Hen.	Lieutenant	Constant Warwick				1672	
Taylor, John	Captain	Griffin				1685	
Taylor, Robt	Captain	Bendish hired	Royal Highness			1664	
		Tulip dogger	P. Rupert			1673	Dead
Teate, John	Lieutenant	Surrat hired	King	30	April	1678	Dead
Teate, Richd	Captain	Elias	Royal Highness			1661	
		Augustine	Do.			1663	
		Frizeland flyboat				1665	Dead
Teddeman, Hen., senr	Captain	Unicorne	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Teddeman, Hen., junr	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.			1665	Dead
Teddeman, Sr Thos (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Resolution	Do.			1660	
		Fairfax	Do.			1661	
		Kent	Do.			1663	
		Revenge	Do.			1664	
		Swiftsure	Do.				
		Royall Catherine	Do.			1665	
		Cambridge	Do.			1668	Dead
Teddeman, Thos	Lieutenant	Coronation	Do.			1666	
Tempest, Jn.	Lieutenant	Eagle hired	Do.			1665	
		Ruby				1667	
		Dunkirke	Royal Highness			1668	
		Edgar	Do.				
	1st	Do.	Do.			1672	
	Captain	Augustin				1672	
		Sweepstakes	Royal Highness			1672	Dead

Temple, John	Lieutenant	House de Swyte	Royal Highness			1660	
		Constant Catherine	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Drake	Do.			1671	
		Mermaid	Do.			1672	
		Adventure	King	9	August	1673	
		Quaker ketch	Do.	29	March	1675	
		Dartmouth	Do.	22	April		
		Jersey	Do.	10	March	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Sweepstakes	Commissioners	19	June	1680	
		Mary Rose	King	11	June	1685	
		Do.	Do.	6	Sept.	1685	Dead
Temple, Sands	Lieutenant	Charity	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Gelderse Ruyter	Royal Highness			1666	
		Cambridge	Do.			1668	
		Reserve	Do.			1670	
		Princesse	Do.			1672	Dead
Tennant, Matw	Lieutenant	Zant frigate	King	3	Feb.	1673	
		Bristoll	Do.	17			
		Guernsey	Do.	9	April	1677	
	Captain	Do.	Do.	1	Sept.	1678	
		Do.	Commissioners	11	March	$16\frac{79}{80}$	
		Tyger	King	22	April	1687	
Tennant, Wm	Captain	Chatham sloop	Do.	16	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
Terne, Henry	Captain	Hampshire	Royal Highness			1661	
		Milford	Do.			1663	
		Portsmouth	Do.				
		Dreadnought	Do.			1665	
		Tryumph				1666	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666
Thomas, Edmd	Lieutenant	Beare	Royal Highness			1664	
		Albemarle hired	Do.			1666	
		Fairfax	Do.			1666	
	2d	Diamond	Do.			1671	
Thompson, Albion	Lieutenant	Assurance	King	25	April	1678	
		Reserve	Do.	22	Sept.		
		Dover	Commissioners	27	May	1679	
		Tiger	Do.	2	July	1681	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Thompson, Tho^{s}	Captain	S^{t} Peter galliot				1672	
Thorowgood, Charl^{s}	First Lieutenant	Old James	Royal Highness			1672	
		Soveraigne	Do.			1673	
		Royall Charles				1673	Dead
Thorroll, Antho.	Lieutenant	Diamond				1672	
Thrasher, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	London hired	Royal Highness			1666	
		Bonadventure	Do.			1666	Dead
Thurston, Seth	Captain	Mary ketch				1665	
		Essex do.	Royal Highness			1672	
Tickle, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Henrietta				1659	
	Captain	Martine	Royal Highness			1664	Dead
Tindall, Thom^{s}	Captain	John of London				1665	Dead
Tinker, John	Captain	Convertine	Royal Highness			1661	
		London	Do.			1670	
		S^{t} Andrew	Do.			1670	Dead
Titsell, Sam^{l}	Captain	Pembroke	Do.			1660	
		Saphire	Do.			1661	
		Westergate	Do.			1663	Lost in the Westergate, being cast away in the West Indies
Tooley, John	First Lieutenant	Edgar	Do.			1673	
Tolmach, Will^{m}	Lieutenant 1st	Woolwich	King	5	Oct.	1688	
	Captain	Larke	L^{d} Dartmouth	13	Dec.		
Tomson, Will^{m}	Lieutenant	Marmaduke	Royal Highness			1664	
		S^{t} David				1665	Dead
Torpley, Jn^{o} (*Vide* Tarpley)	Captain	Successe	King	17	May	1678	
Tosyer, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Stavereen	Royal Highness	31	Jan.	1673	
	Captain	Do.	King				
		Hunter	Do.	12	Nov.	1677	

			Boats at Chatham	Commissioners	5	Sept.	1682	
			Saphire	King	11	July	1686	
Totty, John	Captain		Prince William				1665	
	Lieutenant		Defiance	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
			Warspight	Royal Highness			1668	Dead
Touckin, Anth^y	Lieutenant		Anthelope	Do.			1665	
			Sweepstakes	Do.			1669	Dead
Tovey, Nichol^s	Captain		Fox frigate				1666	
Townesend, Jac^b	Lieutenant	2^d	Bristoll	L^d Dartmouth	24	Nov.	1688	
		1st	S^t David	Do.	22	Dec.		
Townesend, Isaac	Lieutenant	2^d	Bristoll	King	11	May	1687	
		2^d	Mary	Do.	28	May	1688	
		1st	Do.	Do.	30	Sept.		
Trafford, Thom^s	Lieutenant		Leopard	Royal Highness			1660	
			Moncke	Do.			1661	
			Nonsuch	Do.			1663	
			Amity				1664	
	Captain		Unity	Royal Highness			1666	
			Old James	Do.			1671	
			Guiney	P. Rupert			1672	
			Persia-Merchant, hired	King	12	April	1678	
			Boats at Portsmouth	Commissioners	5	Sept.	1682	
			Do.	King	11	June	1685	
Trapps, Thom^s	Third Lieutenant		Soveraigne	Royal Highness			1673	
Trasher, Will^m	Lieutenant		Successe				1679	
Treherne, Will^m	Lieutenant		Nonsuch	Royal Highness			1660	
			Breda	Do.			1664	
			Coast				1665	
	Captain		East India Mercht.	Royal Highness			1666	Dead
Trelauny, Reynald	Lieutenant		Phoenix	Royal Highness			1663	Dead
Trelauny, Will^m	Lieutenant		John and Thomas	Do.			1665	Dead
Trelauny, Will^m	Third Lieutenant		Prince	Do.			1672	
	Lieutenant		Centurion	Do.			1673	
			Swallow	King	9	March	1674	
			Bristoll	Do.	28	April	1675	
	Captain		Larke	Do.	26	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	Dead
Trevanion, Nich^s	Lieutenant		Portland	Do.	30	Oct.	1688	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Trevanion, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Providence	Royal Highness	.	. .	1665	
	Captain	Marmaduke	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	July	1666	
		Dartmouth	Royal Highness	.	. .		
		Richmond	Do.	.	. .	1670	
		Bonadventure	Do.	.	. .	1672	
		Dreadnought	Do.	.	. .		
		Dartmouth	King	9	March	1674	
		Jersey	Do.	22	April	1675	
		Yarmouth	Do.	28	April		
		Saudadoes	Do.	21	July	1677	
		Mountague	Do.	12	May	1678	
		Saudadoes	Do.	26	Oct.		
		Do.	Commissioners	22	Oct.	1681	
		Do.	King	2	April	1685	
		Hampshire	Do.	22	April	1687	
		Henrietta	Do.	17	Sept.	1688	
Trotter, Dav^{d}	Lieutenant	Jersey	. . . .	.	. .	1665	
		Foresight	. . . .	.	. .	1670	
	Captain	Emsworth sloop	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
		Richmond	Do.	.	. .	1673	
		Speedwell	King	9	March		
		Dragon	Do.	.	. .		
		Kingfisher	Do.	5	April	1677	
		Mermaid	Commissioners	11	March	16$\frac{79}{80}$	
		Foresight	Do.	4	Nov.	1682	Dead
Tucker, W^{m}	Lieutenant	Norwich	King	15	April	1678	Dead
Turner, Fran^{s}	Captain	Orangetree fire-ship	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	
		Jason fireship	King	.	. .	1673	
Turner, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant	Dragon	Royal Highness	.	. .	1665	
		Mary Rose	Do.	.	. .	1666	

	Captain	Expedition	P.Rupert, D.Albem.			1666	
		Abraham and Sarah				1667	
		Tyger	Royal Highness			1671	
		Yorke	Do.			1672	Dead
Turner, Jnº	Captain	Expedition fireship				1667	
Turner, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant	Dreadnought	Royal Highness			1664	
	Captain	Francis	Do.			1665	Dead
Tyete, George.	Captain	Success fireship				1667	
	Second Lieutenant	S^{t} Michael	Royal Highness			1672	
	Captain	Richmond yacht	Do.			1673	
		Deptford ketch	King	18	Jan.	1675	
		Do.	Do.	11	Sept.	1676	
		Surrat hired	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Successe	Commissioners	17	May	1679	Dead
Tyrrell, Jnº	Lieutenant	Resolution				1665	
		Leopard	Royal Highness			1672	
		Dragon	King			1674	
	Captain	Drake	Do.	16	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Orangetree	Commissioners	3	April	1680	
		Do.	Do.	13	April	1682	
		Mermaid	Do.	18			
		Oxford	L^{d} Dartmouth	23	Feb.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
		Phoenix	King	1	June	1684	
		Mordaunt	Do.	4	Sept.	1688	
Tyrwhit, Henry	Lieutenant	Rainbow				1665	
		Faulcon				1669	Dead
Tyrwhit, Jnº	Captain	Happy Return	Royal Highness	20	Sept.	1660	
		Assurance	Do.			1661	
		Providence	Do.			1663	
		Reserve	Do.			1665	
		Henrietta	P.Rupert, D.Albem.			1666	
		Swallow	Royal Highness			1668	
		Speedwell	Do.				
		Faulcon				1669	
		Adventure	Royal Highness			1670	
		Tyger	King	11	July	1686	
		Nonsuch	Do.	22	April	1687	
		Cambridge	Do.	15	Sept.	1688	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Tyrwhit, Strickland	Second Lieutenant	Dreadnought	King	15	Sept.	1688	
Vaughan, Rog^{r}	Lieutenant	Loyal Subject	Royal Highness			1665	Dead
Vaughan, Rog^{r}	Lieutenant	Greenwich	King	6	Sept.	1688	
Villers, Henry	Second Lieutenant	Grafton	Commissioners	17	April	1683	
	First do.	Do.	L^{d} Dartmouth	13	Dec.		
Vincent, Fran^{s}	Lieutenant	House de Swyte	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Vittles, Rich^{d}	Captain	Katherine yacht	King	22	May	1678	
Votiere, Jn^{o}	Captain	Swann fireship				1667	
		Elizabeth and Mary					
		Hardereen fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Katherine do.	Do.			1673	
		Ann & Christopher	King	14	Sept.	1674	
		Holmes fireship	Do.	12	July	1677	
		Richmond yacht	Commissioners	14	July	1683	
		Kingfisher ketch	King	1	April	1685	
Usher, Ignatius	Lieutenant	Dartmouth	L^{d} Dartmouth	13	Oct.	1683	
		Do.	King	24	March	$168\frac{4}{5}$	
		Guernsey	Do.	4	April	1688	
		Centurion	Do.	30	August		
	1st	Kent	Do.	16	Nov.		
Utber, John	Lieutenant	Phoenix	Royal Highness			1663	
		Plymouth				1664	
	Captain	Guernsey	Royal Highness			1665	Slain
Utber, Riches (*Vide* Flag Officers)	Captain	Mountague	Do.			1661	
		Phoenix	Do.			1663	
		Essex				1664	
		Rupert	Royal Highness			1665	
		Resolution	Do.			1668	Dead
Wager, Charl^{s}	Captain	Yarmouth	Royal Highness			1660	
		Crowne	Do.			1664	Dead

Walconbergh, Van, Anth^{y} S^{r} John [*sic*]	Lieutenant		Fairfax				1666	
Walker, John	Second Lieutenant		Mary	Royal Highness			1672	
Walker, Nehem.	Lieutenant		Pearle	Do.			1672	
Wall, Andrew	Lieutenant		Foresight	Do.			1664	
Wallop, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant		Bredah				1665	
Walsh, Lucas	Lieutenant		Assurance	Royal Highness			1660	
	Captain		Jersey	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Walter, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant		Tryumph				1665	
			S^{t} Andrew	Royal Highness			1668	
Walters, Benj^{n}.	Lieutenant	2^{d}	Plymouth	Do.			1672	
		2^{d}	Rupert	Do.				
		1st	Do.	King	14	Jan.	1673	
			Swallow	Do.	27	April	1675	
			Greenwich	Do.	16	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
			Henrietta	Do.	30	April	1678	
			Assurance	Commissioners	15	May	1680	
			Happy Returne	King	17	June	1685	
	Captain		Do.	Do.	2	Sept.	1687	
			Guardland	Do.	14	May	1688	
			Richmond	Do.	24	May		
			Diamond	Do.	30	August		
Walters, Joseph	Third Lieutenant		S^{t} Michael	Do.	2	May	1678	
Ward, James	Lieutenant		Royall Prince				1665	
			Golden Phoenix					
Ward, John	Captain		Owners Endeavour fireship				1667	
Ward, Thom^{s}	Captain		Mary Magdalen				1667	
Warcup, Henry	Lieutenant		Loyal Subject	D. Albemarle			1665	
Washborne, Rob^{t}	Lieutenant		Mary	Royal Highness			1668	
			New Castle				1671	
	Captain		Society fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
			Stavereene	Do.			1673	Dead
Washburn, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant		Mary				1669	Dead
Washington, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant		London Merchant	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Waterworth, Jn^{o}	Lieutenant		Fairfax				1662	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
		Bristoll				1664	
		Resolution					
		Swiftsure					
	Captain	Beare	Royal Highness			1665	
		Bonadventure	Do.				
		Dunkirke	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		S^t David	Royal Highness			1668	
		Princesse	Do.				
		Constant Warwick	Do.			1669	
		Anne	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Watham, Jonath^n	Captain	Nonsuch ketch	Royal Highness			1661	
		Francis	Do.			1664	
		Sorlings	Do.				
	First Lieutenant	Victory	Do.			1672	
		Resolution	Do.				
	Captain	Guernsey	King	6	Oct.	1673	
		Deptford ketch	Do.	3	Nov.	1674	
		Turky Merchant hired	Do.	12	April	1678	Dead
Watkins, James	Captain	Joseph fireship				1665	
		Augustine	P. Rupert			1672	
Watly, John	Captain	Fairfax				1665	Dead
Watson, George	Lieutenant	Princesse	Royal Highness			1660	
	Captain	Mermaide	Do.			1665	
		Successe	Do.			1670	
		Swallow	Do.			1673	
		Phoenix	P. Rupert			1673	Dead

Watson, Will^{m}.	Captain	Buck dogger	King	5	Jan.	1673	
		Chatham sloop				1673	
Watts, James	Lieutenant	Tryumph	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	2^{d}	Soveraigne	Royal Highness			1672	
	2^{d} & 1st	S^{t} Michael	Do.			1673	
	Captain	Augustine hired	King	30	Sept.	1673	Dead
Wayman, W^{m}	Captain	Priscilla fireship				1667	
Webb, Edward	Lieutenant	Revenge	Royal Highness			1666	
		Anne	Do.			1668	
Webster, Henry	Lieutenant	Vanguard	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
Wentworth, Sam^{l}	Captain	Exchange hired	Royal Highness			1665	
	Lieutenant. 2^{d}	Monmouth	Do.			1672	
	1st	Do.	Do.			1673	Dead
Werden, Robert	Lieutenant	Advice	Royal Highness			1663	
		Plymouth	Do.			1665	
	Captain	Slothany					
		Norwich	Royal Highness			1666	
		William hired ship	Do.			1669	
		Faulcon	Do.			1670	
		Yarmouth	Do.			1672	
		Henrietta	Do.			1673	Died of wounds received in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1673
Wescott, John	Second Lieutenant	Unicorne	King	30	April	1678	
West, Joseph	Lieutenant	Foresight	Royal Highness			1668	[*sic*]
		Jersey				1667	[*sic*]
West, John	Lieutenant	Foresight				1678	
Wetwang, Joseph	Lieutenant	Sweepstakes.				1678	
		Northumberland	Commissioners	21	June	1679	
		Happy Returne	Do.	16	July	1681	
Wetwang, S^{r} Jn^{o}	Captain	Norwich	Royal Highness			1665	
		Tyger	Do.			1666	
		Dunkirke	Do.			1668	
		Edgar	Do.				
		Do.	Do.			1672	
		Warspight					

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office		Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
					Day	Month	Year	
			Henry	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	
		2d	Soveraigne	P. Rupert	.	. .		
	Captain		New Castle	King	10	Nov.		
			Monmouth	Do.	7	Jan.	167$\frac{7}{8}$	
		2d	Royall James	Do.	28	March	1678	
	Captain		Northumberland	Commissioners	21	June	1679	
			Woolwich	Do.	21	Oct.	1679	Dead
Weymys, Jnº	Captain		Hare dogger	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	
Whately, Jnº	Captain		Zealand prize	Do.	.	. .	1665	Dead
Whatly, Thoms	Captain		Zealand	. . . . .	.	. .	1665	
Wheeler, Franis	Lieutenant	2d	Rupert	V. A. Herbert	30	April	1678	
		1st	Do.	Sir John Narbrough	5	May	1679	
		1st	Bristoll	Admiral Herbert	6	April	1680	
	Captain		Nonsuch	Do.	11	Sept.		
			Kingfisher	Do.	9	August	1681	
			Tyger	Commissioners	25	August	1683	
			Do.	King	4	May	1685	
			Centurion	Do.	18	Sept.	1688	
			Kent	Do.	16	Nov.		
Whiston, Jnº	Second Lieutenant		Fairfax	Royal Highness	.	. .	1673	
			Advice	. . . . .	.	. .		
	Captain		Datetree prize	Sir John Narbrough	20	Oct.	1677	
White, Gerard	Lieutenant		Nonsuch	Royal Highness	.	. .	1661	
			Portsmouth	Do.	.	. .	1663	
	Captain		Charles the 5th	. . . . .	.	. .	1665	
	Lieutenant		Saphire	Royal Highness	.	. .	1666	Dead
White, Isaac	Captain		Wren pink	. . . . .	.	. .	1668	
			Hatton ketch	Royal Highness	.	. .	1671	
White, Richd	Lieutenant		Royall James	Do.	.	. .	1664	
	Captain		Martin	Do.	.	. .	1665	
			Milford	Do.	.	. .	1665	
	Lieutenant		Soveraigne	Do.	.	. .	1668	
			Faulcon	Do.	.	. .		

			Speedwell	. . . . .	.	. .	1669	
	Captain		Argier	Royal Highness	.	. .	1671	
			Anthelope	Do.	.	. .	1672	
			Warspight	Do.	.	. .	1673	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, June 1673
White, Thom^{s}	Captain		Hardbargain	. . . . .	.	. .	1673	Dead
White, Will^{m}	Lieutenant		Maderas	D. Albemarle	.	. .	1665	
Whiteing, Ric^{d}	Captain		Diamond	Royal Highness	.	. .	1660	Dead
Whiteing, Will^{m}	Captain		Phoenix Merchant	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	
Whitey, Jn^{o}	Captain		Vanguard	. . . . .	.	. .	1665	Dead
Whitley, Peter	Lieutenant	2d	Victory	Royal Highness	.	. .	1668	
		2d	Resolution	P. Rupert	.	. .	1673	
			Soveraigne	. . . . .	.	. .		
Whitlock, Bulstro^{de}	Lieutenant		Speedwell	King	28	March	1676	
			Diamond	Do.	10	April	1677	Dead
Whittaker, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant		Swallow	Do.	6	Oct.	1688	
		1st	Mary	L^{d} Dartmouth	22	Dec.		
Whittington, Char.	Lieutenant		Speedwell	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
Whitty, Thom^{s}	Captain		Vanguard	Do.	.	. .	1665	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666
Wickham, Hen.	Second Lieutenant		Crowne	King	17	June	1685	
Wilford, Robert	Second Lieutenant		Yorke	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
			Royall Catherine	Do.	.	. .	1673	
	Lieutenant		Adventure	King	9	March	167$\frac{4}{5}$	
			New Castle	Do.	9	April	1677	
	Captain		Eagle fireship	Do.	19	Dec.	1678	
			Do.	Do.	26	May	1685	Dead
Wilgress, Jn^{o}	Captain		Beare	. . . . .	.	. .	1660	
			Hector	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
			East India Mercht.	Do.	.	. .	1664	
			Beare	Do.	.	. .	1665	
			Marmaduke	. . . . .	.	. .	1665	
			House de Swyte	P. Rupert, D. Albem.	.	. .	1666	
			Welcome	Royal Highness	.	. .	1670	
			Assistance	. . . . .	.	. .	1671	Dead

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Wigoner, Jn^{o}	Captain	John and Giles ketch	Royal Highness	.	. .	1667	
Wilde, Baron	Lieutenant	Oxford	Commissioners	2	June	1683	
	Captain	Drake	L^{d} Dartmouth	23	Feb.	$168\frac{3}{4}$	
		Merlin yacht	King	25	Sept.	1688	
Wilde, Thom^{s} (*Vide* Wylde)	Second Lieutenant	Harwich	Do.	8	March	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
Wilkinson, Rob^{t}	Captain	Charity	Royal Highness	.	. .	1665	
	Lieutenant	Dragon	P. Rupert	.	. .	1672	
	1st	New Castle	Do.	.	. .		
	1st	Royall Catherine	King	30	April	1678	
Withers, John	Captain	Hind ketch	Royal Highness	.	. .	1664	
		Do.	Do.	.	. .	1667	
		Spye shallop	Do.	.	. .	1672	Dead
Williams, Edw^{d}	Lieutenant	Ruby	Do.	.	. .	1664	
Williams, Hen.	Captain	John fire-hoy	. . .	.	. .	1667	
		Supply fireship	Royal Highness	.	. .	1672	
		Assurance	P. Rupert	.	. .	1673	
		Wivenhoe fireship	King	25	May	1675	
		Holmes	Do.				
		Stavereen	Do.	7	Jan.	$167\frac{7}{8}$	
		Lyon	Do.	12	April	1678	
		Pearle	Commissioners	3	April	1680	
		Constant Warwick	Do.	8	May	1682	
		Cleveland yacht	King	22	Jan.	$168\frac{4}{5}$	
		Do.	Do.	2	April	1685	
		Advice	Do.	5	Sept.	1688	
Williams, Jos^{ph}	Lieutenant	Harwich	. . .	.	. .	1677	
Williamson, Rob^{t}.	Captain	Harpe	Royal Highness	.	. .	1660	
Willis, John	Lieutenant	Gloucester	. . .	.	. .	1672	Dead
Willmott, W^{m}	Lieutenant	Happy Return	Royal Highness	.	. .	1660	

Winn, Robert	Second Lieutenant	Edgar	L^{d} Dartmouth	14	Dec.	1688	
Willoughby, Tho.	Captain	Portsmouth ketch^{l}.				1665	Slain in the taking of Surrinam, Anno 1667
Wilshaw, Fran^{s}	Lieutenant	Old James				1665	
		Royall James					
	Captain	Anthelope	P.Rupert, D.Albem.			1666	
		Concord Merchant	King	4	August	1673	
		Foresight	Do.	14	Nov.	1677	Dead
Wilshaw, Thom^{s}	Captain	Milk-maid fireship	P.Rupert, D.Albem.			1666	
		Abigail do.	Royal Highness				
		Maligo Mercht. do.	Do.				
		Francis do.	Do.			1671	
		Castle do.	Do.			1672	
		Reserve					
		Royall Katherine	King	30	March	1678	
		Elizabeth				1679	
		James galley	Commissioners	21	Oct.		
		Albemarle				1680	
		Neptune	Commissioners			1683	
Wiseman, Rob^{t}	Second Lieutenant	Gloucester	Royal Highness			1673	
	Lieutenant	Foresight	King	20	Nov.	1677	
		Diamond	Commissioners	27	March	1680	
		Anthelope	Do.	15	May		
	Captain	Young Spragg fireship	King	22	Sept.	1688	
Wolger, John	Lieutenant	Kent	Royal Highness			1660	
		Resolution	P.Rupert, D.Albem.			1666	
Wood, Andrew	Lieutenant	Catherine hired	Royal Highness			1665	
Wood, Giles	Second Lieutenant	Prince	Do.			1672	
		Royall Charles	Do.			1673	Dead
Wood, John	Captain	Sophia				1660	
		Providence fire-ship	P.Rupert, D.Albem.			1665	
		Unicorne do.	Royal Highness			1666	
		John do.				1667	
	Lieutenant 2^{d}	S^{t} Andrew	Royal Highness			1671	
	Captain	Kent	P. Rupert			1672	

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Wood, John	Captain	Kent	P. Rupert			1672	
	Lieutenant	Assistance	Royal Highness			1673	
		Princesse	Do.				
		Lyon	Do.				
	3^{d}	Soveraigne	P. Rupert				
	Captain	Bonadventure	Do.				
		Speedwell	King	28	March	1676	
		Diamond	Do.	2	April	1677	
		Constant Warwick	Commissioners	16	July	1681	Dead
Wood, Lambert	Captain	Sarah pink				1664	
Wood, Robert	Lieutenant	Old James	Royal Highness			1666	
	Captain	Catherine yacht				1666	Dead
Wood, Robert	Captain	Roe kitchin	Royal Highness			1666	
		Catherine yacht	Do.			1667	Dead
Wood, Walter	Captain	Princesse	Do.			1660	
		Convertine	Do.			1664	
		Henrietta	Do.			1664	Died of wounds received in the battle with the Dutch, June 1666
Woodall, Thom^{s}	Lieutenant	Tryumph				1664	
Woodcock, Nich^{s}	Lieutenant	Royall Catherine	Royal Highness			1672	
Woodhouse, Gisli^{ham}	Lieutenant	Phoenix				1664	
		Bendish	Royal Highness			1665	
		Rupert	Do.			1666	
Woodward, Ric^{d}	Lieutenant	Monmouth	Do.			1667	
		Resolution	Do.			1669	
Wootton, Pet^{r}	Captain	Cleveland yacht	King	30	May	1678	
Wrenn, Ralph	Captain	Hopewell fireship	Royal Highness			1672	
		Rose dogger.	Do.			1673	
	First Lieutenant	Reserve	King	23	Feb.	1675	

	Captain		Young Spragg fireship	King	12	July	1677
	Lieutenant		Kingfisher	Commissioners	4	Nov.	1679
	Captain		Nonsuch	Admiral Herbert	9	Aug.	1681
			Centurion	Commissioners	23	May	1682
			Do.	King	5	May	1685
			Mary Rose	Do.	26	July	1687
			Greenwich	Do.	5	Sept.	1688
Wright, Henry	Lieutenant	2d	Plymouth	King	28	Oct.	1673
		2d	Assurance	Do.	18	Sept.	1676
		1st	St Michael	Do.	2	May	1678
			Phoenix	Commissioners	30	Oct.	1680
			Ruby	Do.	19	Feb.	168$\frac{0}{1}$
			Diamond	Do.	18	April	1682
		1st	Cambridge	King	6	Sept.	1688
Wright, Lawrence	Lieutenant		Baltimore	D. Albemarle			1665
			Royal Charles	Do.			1666
			Constant Warwick	Royal Highness			1667
			Old James				1668
			Victory	Royal Highness			
			Soveraigne	Do.			
			New Castle	Do.			1670
		1st	Mary	Do.			1672
			Prince	Do.			
	Captain		Nonsuch	Do.			
			Phoenix	King	28	Jan.	1675
			Anthelope	Do.	7	Jan.	1672
	Second do.		Charles	Do.	27	March	1678
	Captain		Unicorn guardship at Chatham	Do.	30	Nov.	
			Reserve	Commissioners	27	May	1679
			Mary yacht	Do.	19	June	1682
			John & Alexander	Do.	29	July	
			Golden Horse	Do.	8	August	
			Mary yacht	King	27	April	1685
			Foresight	Do.	6	March	168$\frac{6}{7}$
			Assistance	Do.	12	July	1687

List of all the Commission-Officers, &c.—*continued*

Person	Office	Ship	Commission, whose	Date of Commission			Notes
				Day	Month	Year	
Wright, Will^m^	Captain	Bezan yacht	Royal Highness			1666	
		Kitchin yacht	Do.			1671	
		Portsmouth yacht	King	17	April	1678	
		Do.	Do.	15	May	1686	
		Monmouth yacht	Do.	15	Oct.	1687	
Wright, Will^m^	Third Lieutenant	Resolution	L^d^ Dartmouth	13	Oct.	1688	
	Captain	Richard and John fireship	Do.	12	Nov.		
	First Lieutenant	Resolution	Do.	19	Dec.		
Wyard, Rob^t^	Captain	Paule	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Wyborne, Jn^o^	Captain	Joseph fireship	Do.			1666	
		Portsmouth ketch	Do.			1668	
		Portsmouth pink				1669	
		Guardland	Royal Highness			1672	
		Speedwell	King	15	Feb.	1675	
		Pearle	Do.				
		James galley	Sir John Narbrough	8	Oct.	1677	
		Bristoll	Commissioners	21	Oct.	1679	
		Rupert	Do.	29	Nov.		
		Happy Return	Do.	16	July	1681	
Wye, Edward	Captain	Assistance	Royal Highness			1661	Dead
Wye, Rich^d^	Captain	Hound sloop	Do.			1673	Dead
Wylde, Charles	Captain	Baltimore hired	D. Albemarle			1665	
		Centurion	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
		Assurance	Royal Highness			1670	
		Bristoll	Do.			1672	
		Tryumph	Do.				
		Centurion	Do.			1673	
		Mary Rose	King	7	Jan.	167⅞	
		S^t^ Michael	Do.	15	April	1678	
		Oxford	Commissioners	2	June	1683	Dead

Wylde, Thom^{s}.	Lieutenant		S^{t} George	Royal Highness			1665	
		3^{d}	Royall James	King	30	March	1678	
(*Vide* Wilde)	Captain		Sweepstakes	Do.	3	Aug.		
Wywell, Fran^{is}	Lieutenant		Norwich	Commissioners	22	March	168½	
			Woolwich	Do.	17	April	1683	
		2^{d}	Anne	King	10	May	1687	
		2^{d}	Dover	Do.	4	April	1688	
		1st	Do.	Do.	3	May		
	Captain		Unity fireship	Do.	28	Sept.		
Yennis, Ezekiel	Lieutenant		Society	Royal Highness			1665	
			George hired ship	Do.			1666	
			Hampshire	Do.				
	Captain		Alice and Francis fireship	Do.			1672	Slain in the battle with the Dutch, 28 May, 1672
Young, Anth^{ny}	Second Captain		Royall Charles	Do.			1673	
			Soveraigne					
	Captain		Plymouth	P. Rupert				
			Rainbow	King	12	April	1678	
			Unicorne	Commissioners	26	May	1679	
Young, Anth^{ny}	Captain		James hired	Do.	9	July	1679	Dead
Young, Anth^{ny}	Lieutenant		Yorke	P. Rupert			1673	Dead
Young, Benj^{n}	Captain		Adventure	Royal Highness			1664	
			Yarmouth	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
			Fountaine	Royal Highness			1668	
			Advice	Do.			1669	Slain in fight with Algiers men-of-war off —— in the Streights, 1669
Young, Henry	Lieutenant		Royall Charles	P. Rupert, D. Albem.			1666	
	Captain		French Ruby					
Young, Jn^{o}	Captain		Tulip sloop	P. Rupert			1672	Dead
Young, Mich^{l}	Captain		Young Lyon	Royal Highness			1665	
			Martin	Do.			1666	
			Unicorn fireship				1667	Dead
Younger, W^{m}	Captain		Young Lamb prize				1665	
			Bramble fireship					
			Horseman prize				1666	

A List of all the Sea-Commission-Officers of England (viz. Commanders and Lieutenants) in actual employment upon 18 December, 1688, the day of the withdrawing of his Majesty King James the Second, with the particular ships they then severally related to; the Lord Dartmouth being Admiral, Sir John Berry Vice-Admiral, and Lord Berkley Rear-Admiral.

Officers		Rate	Ships		—
Commanders	Lieutenants		Commanderies	Lieutenancies	
Akarman, Steph^{n}		3	Dreadnought		
Allin, Thom^{s}		6	Quaker ketch		
Arthur, Rob^{t}		6	Guernsey fireship		
Ashby, John		3	Defiance		
	Audeley, Rob^{t}	4		Tiger	2^{d} ✓
Aylemore { George		4	Portland		
Aylemore { Matth^{w}		4	Swallow		
	Baker, John	4		Woolwich	2^{d} ✓
	Beaumont, Bazil	4		Portsmouth	✓
Berkley, L^{d} Jn^{o} R. Ad.		3	Edgar		✓
Berry { S^{r} Jn^{o} V. Ad.		3	Elizabeth		
Berry { Thomas		6	Deptford ketch		
Beverley, John		4	Jersey		
	Bing, George	3		Defiance	1st
	Bois, Edward	3		Cambridge	2^{d}
	Bokenham, W^{m}	4		Dragon	1st
Booth, S^{r} Will^{m}		3	Pendennis		
Boteler, Henry		6	S^{t} Paul fireship		
Botham, Will^{m}		4	S^{t} David		
Bounty, John		6	Half-moon fireship		✓
	Bowyer, Henry	4		Deptford	2^{d} ✓
	Brisbane, Patrick	5		Saphire	
	Buck, John	3		Hampton-Court	2^{d}
	Buckley, Thom^{s}.	4		Sedgmore	1st
	Bundy, Charles	4		S^{t} Albans	2^{d} ✓

Carter, Richd		3	Plymouth		
	Carverth, Richd	4		Mordaunt	
	Chapman, Richd	4		Assistance	
Churchill, George		4	Newcastle		
Clements, John		3	Cambridge		✓
Coal, Thoms		6	Pearl fireship		
	Condon, David	5		Rose	
Constable, Willm		4	St Albans		
	Conway, Thoms	3		Mountagu	1st
Cornwall, Woolfran		4	Constant Warwick		✓
Cotton, Andrew		6	Navy yacht		
	Crawley, Thoms	3		Elizabeth	2d
Cross, George		6	Supply fireship		✓
Crow, Antho		6	Kitchin yacht		
Davis, Willm		3	Resolution		
	Dawes, John	4		Dover	✓
	Day, Thoms	3		Rupert	2d
Delavall, Ralph		3	York		
	Dilks, Thoms	3		Henrietta	2d
Dover, Edwd		6	Elizabeth & Sarah fireship		
	Edwards, Richd	3		Plymouth	2d
Elliot, Edmd		4	Centurion		✓
	Every, John	3		Edgar	1st ✓
Fairborn, Stafford		6	Richmond fireship		
Fazeby, Willm		6	Mary yacht		
	Fitz-Patrick, Richd	4		Assurance	
	Foules, Thoms	4		Tiger prize	
	Foulks, Simon	3		Plymouth	1st
Froud, Frederck		4	Ruby		
	Gardner, Thoms	3		Henrietta	1st
George, John		5	Rose		
Gifford, Willm		4	Phoenix		
	Gillam, Thoms	4		Ruby	
	Gother, James	3		Elizabeth	1st
	Granvill, John	4		Bonadventure	
Graydon, John		6	Saudadoes		
	Greenway, James	4		Diamond	

List of Officers in Actual Employment, 18 December, 1688.—*continued*

Officers		Rate	Ships		—
Commanders	Lieutenants		Commanderies	Lieutenancies	
Grimsditch, John		6	Lark		
	Guy, John	4		Deptford	1st
	Hales, John	3		Lion	1st ✓
	Hammond, Edw^{d}	4		Jersey	
	Harman, Will^{m}	4		Newcastle	
Harris, John		6	Sampson fireship		
	Harrison, Mark	4		Phoenix	
Hastings, Ant^{o}		4	Woolwich		
	Haughton, Hen.	4		Advice	
	Hawkins, Charl.	4		Sedgmore	2d
	Hays, George	3		Mary	2d ✓
Hopson, Thom^{s}		4	Bonadventure		
Hoskins, Benj^{n}		6	Cleveland yacht		
	Hubbard, John	4		Foresight	1st
Jenifer, John		6	Guardland fireship		
Jennens, S^{r} W^{m}		3	Warspight		✓
	Jennings { Jn^{o}.	4		S^{t} David	1st
	Thom^{s}	3		Pendennis	1st
Johnson, Thom^{s}		6	Swann fireship		
	Kerr, W^{m}	3		Pendennis	2d
Killigrew, Hen.		4	Dragon		
	Killigrew, James	4		S^{t} Albans	1st
Layton, John		3	Mary		
Leak, John		6	Fire-Drake bomber		
Legg, Thom^{s}		6	Dartmouth fireship		✓
Leighton, Thom^{s}		4	Bristoll		
Ley, Thom^{s}		6	Mermaid fireship		
	Littleton, Geo.	3		Defiance	2d
Lloyd, David		4	Sedgmore		
Mackdonnell, Randolph		4	Assurance		
	Man, James	4		Foresight	2d
	Manley, Fran^{s}	3		York	2d

Millison, Gabr^{l}		6	Katherine yacht		✓
Mings, Christopher		6	Sophia fireship		
Montgomery, Jam^{s}		4	Nonsuch		
	Moody, James	3		York	1st
Munden, John		3	Edgar		✓
	Murray, L^{d} W^{m}	4		Tiger	
Nevill, John		3	Elizabeth		
	Penn, Will^{m}	4		Bristoll	1st
Pooley, Will^{m}		6	Roebuck fireship		
Potter, Abrah^{m}		6	Charles fireship		
Powson, Edw^{d}		6	Speedwell fireship		
	Preen, Jacob	3		Resolution	2^{d} ✓
Priestman, Hen.		3	Hampton-Court		
	Pugh, Rich^{d}	4		Anthelope	
Ridley, Hugh		4	Anthelope		
Robinson, Rob^{t}		4	Crowne		
Roe, Simon		6	Dunbarton		
Rook, George		4	Deptford		
S^{t} Loe, George		4	Portsmouth		
Sanderson { Ralph		6	Fubbs yacht		
Sanderson { Will^{m}		6	Isabella yacht		
Shelley, John		6	Cygnet fireship		
	Sherborn, Rich^{d}	4		Dragon	2^{d}
Shovell, Cloudesly		4	Dover		
Smith, Thom^{s}		4	Tiger prize		
Spragg, Thom^{s}		6	Drake		
	Staggins, Char.	3		Rupert	1st
Stanley, Edw^{d}		4	Foresight		
Stone, Will^{m}		6	Charles & Henry fireship		
Strickland, S^{r} Rog^{r}, V. A.		3	Mary		
Swaine, Thom^{s}		6	Kingfisher ketch		
	Talbot, Sherington	4		Nonsuch	
Talmach, Will^{m}		6	Lark		✓
Tennant W^{m}		4	Tiger		
Tosier, John		5	Saphire		
	Townsend { Jacob	4		Bristoll	2^{d} ✓
	Townsend { Isaac	3		Mary	1st
	Trevanion, Nich^{s}	4		Portland	

List of Officers in Actual Employment 18 December, 1688—*continued*

Officers		Rate	Ships		—
Commanders	Lieutenants		Commanderies	Lieutenancies	
Trevanion, Ric^{d}.		3	Henrietta		
Tyrrell, John		4	Mordaunt		
Tyrwhit, John		3	Cambridge		
	Tyrwhit, Strickland	3		Dreadnought	2d
	Vaughan, Roger	4		Greenwich	1st
	Usher, Ignatius	3		Kent	1st
	Walker	4		S^{t} David	2d
Walters, Benj^{n}		4	Diamond		
Wheeler, S^{r} Fran^{s}		3	Kent		
	Whittaker, Edw^{d}	4		Swallow	
	Wickham, Hen.	4		Crowne	
Wild, Baron		6	Merlin yacht		
Willford, Rob^{t}.		6	Eagle fireship		
Williams, Henry		4	Advice		
Wiseman, Rob^{t}.		6	Young Sprag fireship		
Wren, Ralph		4	Greenwich		
	Wright Henry	3		Cambridge	1st
	Will^{m}	3		Resolution	1st ✓
Wright Lawr^{ce}		4	Assistance		
Will^{m}		6	Monmouth yacht		
Wyvell, Fran.		6	Unity fireship		

Memorandum

1st That those of the officers herein who are thus ticked [✓] received their commissions at sea from the L^{d} Dartmouth.

2d That the stations whereon the officers in this list were with their ships then severally employed appear in the printed list hereunto (to that purpose) annexed.

3d That not one of the commanders in the list of the year 1660 appears in this of 1688, nor above three either of them or any others of more than sixty commissioned within that year by his Royal Highness, then Lord High Admiral of England, to be surviving at this day.

A List of all the Commission-Officers and their respective ships in actual service at the seas (the Lord Dartmouth, Admiral) upon 18 December, 1688, the day of the withdrawing of his Majesty King James the Second, and determination of Mr. Pepys's relation to the navy.

[Here a printed list, taken from Pepys's *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*, p. 162 *et seq.*, is pasted into the book.]

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